

PEKING REVIEW

10

March 7, 1975

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周
報

**On the Social Basis of the Lin Piao
Anti-Party Clique**

**Prime Minister Lopes Visits
China**

*Working Women's Struggle Against
Confucianism in Chinese History*

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Vol. 18, No. 10 March 7, 1975

Published in English, French, Spanish,
Japanese and German editions

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Prime Minister Lopes Visits China

P RIME Minister Henri Lopes of the People's Republic of the Congo and Mme. Lopes and the Congolese Government Delegation led by him arrived in Peking on February 27 for an official visit to China. Vice-Premiers Teng Hsiao-ping and Wu Kuei-

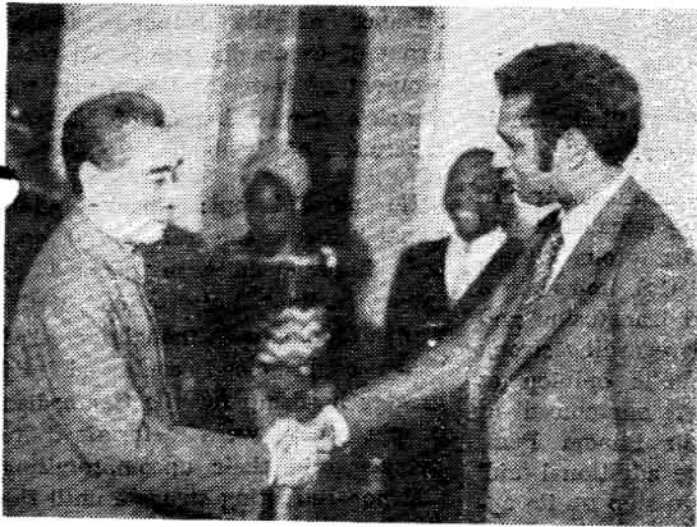
mier Teng Hsiao-ping, Prime Minister Henri Lopes reviewed a guard of honour composed of men of the ground, naval and air forces of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

Premier Chou En-lai met in a hospital on February 28 with Prime

En-lai in the Great Hall of the People. Vice-Premier Teng and Prime Minister Lopes spoke at the banquet. (For excerpts of their speeches see pp. 11 and 12.)

Vice-Premier Teng and Prime Minister Lopes held a number of talks. Both were present at the signing ceremony on March 2 for the exchange of notes on items of economic and technical co-operation between the Governments of China and the Congo. The Congolese guests visited a people's commune in the suburbs and a factory while in Peking.

Prime Minister and Mme. Lopes gave a return banquet on March 2 and left Peking for Shanghai the next day.



Premier Chou En-lai meets Prime Minister Henri Lopes.

Special Adviser Ieng Sary In Peking

Ieng Sary, Special Adviser to the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, arrived in Peking on March 1 by special plane for a friendly visit to China.

Premier Chou En-lai met in a hospital on March 4 with Special Adviser

hsien, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Yao Lien-wei, Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua and several thousand people in the Chinese capital were at the airport to welcome them.

At the brightly lit Peking Airport that evening there were huge streamers with the slogans: "A warm welcome to Prime Minister and Mme. Lopes!" "Firmly support the Congolese people in their struggle to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty!" "Long live the friendship between the people of China and the Congo!" "Long live the great unity of the people of the third world!"

A grand welcoming ceremony was held at the airport. Accompanied by Vice-Pre-

Minister and Mme. Lopes and some members of the delegation.

In the evening Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping hosted a welcoming banquet in the name of Premier Chou



Rousing airport welcome for Prime Minister Lopes on his arrival in Peking.



Premier Chou En-lai meets Special Adviser Ieng Sary.

Ieng Sary. Vice-Premier Chi Teng-kuei and others were at the meeting.

Earlier, Vice-Premier Chi had talks with Special Adviser Ieng Sary.

Vice-Premier Chi gave a banquet to welcome the distinguished Cambodian guest on the day of his arrival in Peking.

Speaking at the banquet, Vice-Premier Chi Teng-kuei said that the present situation is excellent in the Cambodian people's just struggle for national salvation. He praised the Cambodian armymen and people for the fierce offensive they launched to raise the curtain on the dry season campaign.

He stated: "The Cambodian people's liberation armed forces are dealing hard blows at the Lon Nol traitorous clique and wiping out the enemy's effective strength in large numbers. They have liberated many cities, towns and strongholds, thus further tightening the encirclement around Phnom Penh. This has left the traitorous clique in chaos and utter confusion. News of brilliant victories have kept coming in from the Cambodian battlefield."

"The recent Second National Congress of Cambodia, presided over by Deputy Prime Minister Khieu Samphan in the Liberated Zone voiced the iron will of the Cambodian people to persevere in resolute struggle

until complete national liberation is achieved," he continued.

Vice-Premier Chi emphasized: "In order to prolong the exhausted and panting Lon Nol traitorous clique, a political mummy, U.S. imperialism is giving it a blood transfusion and morale booster. Disregarding strong opposition from public opinion at home and abroad, it announced an intensified airlift to Phnom Penh and is plotting large additional 'aid' to the clique so as to step up its aggression and interference in Cambodia. The Chinese Government and people sternly condemn this act of aggression and resolutely support the just stand of the National United Front of Cambodia with Cambodian Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk as its Chairman and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia for settling the question of Cambodia. The U.S. Government should immediately stop all support and assistance to the Lon Nol traitorous clique and let the Cambodian people settle their own affairs without interference from outside."

Vice-Premier Chi reiterated: "Following the consistent teaching of Chairman Mao, the Chinese people are determined to provide powerful backing to the Cambodian people and firmly support them in their just struggle for national salvation till complete victory!"

Special Adviser Ieng Sary said: "We are very glad to bring from the

front to our Chinese comrades-in-arms the fighting unity and fraternal friendship of the Cambodian people, fighters and cadres.

"The current visit will certainly further strengthen and develop the fighting unity and fraternal friendship which the people and governments of our two countries have long forged between them."

Speaking about the excellent situation that prevailed in Cambodia in the 1975 dry season, Ieng Sary said no force could obstruct the victorious advance of the National United Front of Cambodia, the Royal Government of National Union and the People's Armed Forces of National Liberation of Cambodia.

He pointed out: Despite additional "aid" to the traitorous clique, U.S. imperialism was doomed to failure in its "Khmerization" of the war in Cambodia. Although increased "aid" could mean continued and greater hardship for the Cambodian people, they were determined to persevere in their uncompromising and non-retreating struggle until the five-point statement issued by Head of State Samdech Sihanouk on March 23, 1970 was realized.

Comrades Yao Wen-yuan, Wu Kuei-hsien Hold Talks With Comrade Mijal

Yao Wen-yuan, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and Wu Kuei-hsien, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee, held talks on March 3 with Kazimierz Mijal, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Poland.

Taking part in the talks were Keng Piao, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Head of the International Liaison Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee, and Chang Hsiang-shan, Deputy Head of the International Liaison Department.

On the Social Basis of the Lin Piao Anti-Party Clique

by Yao Wen-yuan

SPEAKING of the necessity for a clear understanding of the question of the proletariat exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, Chairman Mao pointed out explicitly: "It would be quite easy for people like Lin Piao to push the capitalist system if they come to power. Therefore, we should read some more Marxist-Leninist works." This brings up a most important question: What is the class nature of "people like Lin Piao"? What is the social basis that engendered the Lin Piao anti-Party clique? Undoubtedly a clear understanding of this question is fully necessary for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing capitalist restoration and for firmly implementing the Party's basic line for the historical period of socialism and creating step by step conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise.

As in the case of all other revisionists and revisionist trends of thought, the appearance of Lin Piao and his revisionist line was not accidental. Lin Piao and his sworn followers were extremely isolated in the whole Party, in the whole army and among the people of the whole country; but there is a deep-rooted class basis in society that engendered this bunch of extremely isolated persons who described themselves as "heavenly horses flying through the skies, solitary and free."

It is fairly clear that the Lin Piao anti-Party clique represented the interests of the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes and the aspirations of the overthrown reactionaries to topple the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique opposed the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and had inveterate hatred for the socialist system under the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, slandering it as "feudal autocracy" and cursing it as "Chin Shih Huang of the contemporary era." They wanted the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists "to achieve genuine liberation politically and economically," i.e., politically and economically they wanted to turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the landlord and comprador-capitalist classes and the socialist system into capitalist system. As an agent in the Party, an agent of the bourgeoisie working hard for a restoration, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique was wild in its

attack on the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, so much so that it set up an organization of secret agents and plotted a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat. Such frenzy is a reflection of the fact that the reactionaries who have lost political power and the means of production inevitably will resort to every means to recapture the lost positions of the exploiting classes. We have seen how Lin Piao, after his political and ideological bankruptcy, tried to "eat up" the proletariat by staking everything on a single cast as a desperate gambler would do and how he finally betrayed the country and fled to defect to the enemy; despite the very patient education, waiting and efforts to save him by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, his counter-revolutionary nature did not change in the least. All this reflects the life-and-death struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the two major antagonistic classes, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, a struggle that will go on for a long period. As long as the overthrown reactionary classes still exist, the possibility remains for the emergence within the Party (and in society as well) of representatives of the bourgeoisie who will try to turn their hope for restoration into attempt at restoration. Therefore, we must heighten our vigilance and guard against and smash any plot by the reactionaries at home and abroad, and on no account must we slacken our vigilance. Such an understanding, however, still does not embrace all aspects of the issue. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique represented not only the hope of the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes for a restoration but also the hope of the newly engendered bourgeois elements in socialist society for usurping power. Members of this clique had certain characteristics of newly engendered bourgeois elements, and a number of them were in fact such elements. And some of their slogans met and reflected the needs of the bourgeois elements and those wishing to take the capitalist road in developing capitalism. It is precisely this latter aspect that merits our further analysis.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Lenin said, 'Small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale.' This also occurs among a section of the workers and a section of the Party members. Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state organs there are people who follow the bourgeois style of life." Some in the Lin Piao anti-

Party clique were the very representatives of such newly engendered bourgeoisie and capitalism. Among them, Lin Li-kuo [Lin Piao's son] and his small "fleet" [code name for their secret agent organization] were out-and-out anti-socialist bourgeois elements and counter-revolutionaries engendered in socialist society.

The existence of bourgeois influence and the existence of the influence of international imperialism and revisionism are the political and ideological source of new bourgeois elements, while the existence of bourgeois right provides the vital economic basis for their emergence.

Lenin pointed out: "In the first phase of communist society (usually called Socialism) 'bourgeois right' is *not* abolished in its entirety, but only in part, only in proportion to the economic revolution so far attained, i.e., only in respect of the means of production." "However, it continues to exist as far as its other part is concerned; it continues to exist in the capacity of regulator (determining factor) in the distribution of products and the allotment of labour among the members of society. The socialist principle: 'He who does not work, neither shall he eat,' is *already* realized; the other socialist principle: 'An equal amount of products for an equal amount of labour,' is also *already* realized. But this is not yet Communism, and it does not yet abolish 'bourgeois right,' which gives to unequal individuals, in return for unequal (really unequal) amounts of labour, equal amounts of products."

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "China is a socialist country. Before liberation, she was more or less like capitalism. Even now she practises an eight-grade wage system, distribution to each according to his work and exchange by means of money, which are scarcely different from those in the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has changed." "Our country at present practises a commodity system, and the wage system is unequal too, there being the eight-grade wage system, etc. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat."

In socialist society, there still exist two kinds of socialist ownership, namely, ownership by the whole people and collective ownership. This determines that China at present practises a commodity system. The analyses made by Lenin and Chairman Mao tell us that bourgeois right which inevitably exists as regards distribution and exchange under the socialist system should be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat, so that in the long course of the socialist revolution the three major differences between workers and peasants, between town and country and between manual and mental labour will gradually be narrowed and the discrepancies between the various grades will be reduced and the material and ideological conditions for closing such gaps will gradually be created. If we do not follow this course, but call instead for the consolidation, extension and strengthening of bourgeois right and that part of inequality it entails, the inevitable

result will be polarization, i.e., a small number of people will in the course of distribution acquire increasing amounts of commodities and money through certain legal channels and numerous illegal ones; capitalist ideas of amassing fortunes and craving for personal fame and gain, stimulated by such "material incentives," will spread unchecked; such phenomena as turning public property into private property, speculation, graft and corruption, theft and bribery will rise; the capitalist principle of the exchange of commodities will make its way into political life and even into Party life, undermine the socialist planned economy and give rise to such acts of capitalist exploitation as the conversion of commodities and money into capital and labour power into a commodity; and there will be a change in the nature of the system of ownership in certain departments and units which follow the revisionist line; and instances of oppression and exploitation of the labouring people will once again occur. As a result, a small number of new bourgeois elements and upstarts who have totally betrayed the proletariat and the labouring people will emerge from among Party members, workers, well-to-do peasants and personnel in state organs. Our worker-comrades have put it well: "If bourgeois right is not restricted, it will check the development of socialism and aid the growth of capitalism." When the economic strength of the bourgeoisie grows to a certain extent, its agents will ask for political rule, try to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system, completely change the socialist ownership, and openly restore and develop the capitalist system. Once in power, the new bourgeoisie will first of all carry out a bloody suppression of the people and restore capitalism in the superstructure, including all spheres of ideology and culture; then they will conduct distribution in proportion to the amount of capital and power each has, and the principle "to each according to his work" will be nothing but an empty shell, and a handful of new bourgeois elements monopolizing the means of production will at the same time monopolize the power of distributing consumer goods and other products. Such is the process of restoration that has already taken place in the Soviet Union.

As regards the way the Lin Piao anti-Party clique stooped to anything to amass riches, insatiably pursued the bourgeois way of life and used bourgeois right to carry out insidious, unsavoury and vile activities, many instances have been brought to light and subjected to criticism. But even more illustrative is its programme for a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat, *Outline of Project "571,"* in which the Lin Piao anti-Party clique used precisely the idea of bourgeois right, and not anything else, to abet or incite certain people of various classes to oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat. In other words, the class interests the programme represents, in addition to the interests of the old bourgeoisie, are precisely the interests of a number of new bourgeois elements and a few people who want to use bourgeois right to develop capitalism. This explains why the

programme directs its attack on Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and why it shows particularly bitter hatred for certain restrictions placed on bourgeois right through the socialist revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country.

The Lin Piao anti-Party clique slandered office cadres going to May 7th cadre schools as "unemployment in a disguised form"; it vilified simplifying administrative set-ups and maintaining close relations with the masses as an attack on cadres. It held that cadres should be overlords sitting on the backs of the people and, therefore, they become "unemployed" once they take part in collective productive labour. This was designed to incite a section of the office workers — those who wish to extend bourgeois right, seek official posts and become overlords and those who are seriously infected with the bourgeois style of life — to oppose the Party's line and the socialist system.

The Lin Piao anti-Party clique slandered intellectuals integrating themselves with the workers and peasants and going to the countryside as "reform through forced labour in a disguised form." Young people, full of vigour and imbued with communist consciousness, have gone group after group to the countryside. This is a great undertaking of far-reaching significance for narrowing the three major differences and for restricting bourgeois right. All revolutionary people enthusiastically praise it, but those corrupted by bourgeois ideology, and particularly those fettered by the idea of bourgeois right, oppose it. Whether the integration of educated young people with the workers and peasants is upheld or not has a direct bearing on whether the revolution in university education can be carried on by following the road taken by the Shanghai Machine Tool Plant — enrolling students from among the workers and peasants and assigning them to work among workers and peasants upon graduation. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique's special hatred of this not only showed its opposition to the labouring people but also exposed its scheme to use bourgeois right to attack the Party in an attempt to incite some people deeply influenced by the idea of bourgeois right to oppose the socialist revolution. Its programme was aimed at widening the gap between town and country and between manual and mental labour, and turning educated young people into a new stratum of elite, so as to win the support of those deeply influenced by the idea of bourgeois right for its counter-revolutionary coup d'etat.

The Lin Piao anti-Party clique smeared as "exploitation in a disguised form" the communist spirit displayed by the working class in criticizing the revisionist "material incentives." Lin Piao was a fanatic advocate of "material incentives." He wrote in his sinister notebook such revisionist trash as "material incentives are still necessary," "materialism — material incentives," "inducements — official post, emolument, favour." A principal member of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique also wrote that "the principle of to each according to his

work and of material benefit" was the "decisive motive force" in promoting production. On the face of it, they advocated using money to "stimulate" the workers, but actually they wanted to widen without any limit the differences in grade among the workers in order to foster and buy over a small section of the working class, turn it into a privileged stratum which betrays the proletarian dictatorship and the interests of the proletariat, and split the unity of the working class. They tried to corrupt the workers with the bourgeois world outlook and use the small number of workers who are deeply influenced by the idea of bourgeois right as a force in support of their opposition to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lin Piao and company attached "particular importance" to using "wages" to lure "young workers," and their "inducements — official post, emolument, favour" were a sinister scheme. This shows us by negative example that young workers, particularly those who have become cadres, must consciously reject the material inducements of the bourgeoisie and the flattery offered them in various forms by the idea of bourgeois right. They must maintain and bring into play the communist revolutionary spirit of fighting valiantly for the complete emancipation of the proletariat and the whole of mankind and strive to arm themselves with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook; they must never be dazzled and become light-headed by the varicoloured world of commodities, exchange by means of money, vulgar flattery, sycophancy and factionalism, so as not to be taken in by political swindlers like Lin Piao or by the landlord and bourgeois elements in society. Under the cloak of "showing concern," all these persons are actually giving the young workers "incentives" to lure them to take the capitalist road, and they could thus be called political "abettors." Inexperienced newly engendered bourgeois elements openly break the law while cunning bourgeois elements of long standing direct them from behind the scenes — this is a common occurrence in class struggle in the society today. We lay special emphasis on hitting the backstage abettors in dealing with corrupted young people who have committed crimes. We must continue to adhere to this principle. Quite a number of young workers who take a clear-cut stand in the fight against bourgeois corruption have come to the fore in present-day struggles; we must support them and sum up their experience in struggle.

The Lin Piao anti-Party clique also vilified that the peasants "lack food and clothing," that "the living standards" of cadres in the armed forces "are deteriorating," and that the Red Guards who displayed the spirit of daring to think, speak, blaze a trail, act and make revolution in criticizing the bourgeoisie during the Great Cultural Revolution "are being hoodwinked and used" All this was aimed at totally negating the socialist system and the Party's mass line, negating the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, extending bourgeois right and restoring capitalism. In spreading the slander that peasants "lack food and

clothing," the Lin Piao anti-Party clique aimed at inciting the peasants to "eat up and divide everything" so as to undermine and liquidate the socialist collective economy. If things were done along this line, a small number of people would become the new bourgeoisie while the overwhelming majority would suffer capitalist exploitation. And this would be a situation the landlords, rich peasants and a part of well-to-do middle peasants taking the capitalist road in the countryside yearned for.

By now we can see what Lin Piao meant by "building genuine socialism." It meant the extension of bourgeois right under the signboard of socialism so that new bourgeois elements and certain factions and groupings intending to take the capitalist road could, in collusion with the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes, "have everything under their command and everything at their disposal," overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. Lin Piao and his like were their political representatives. The programme advanced by the Lin Piao anti-Party clique in *Outline of Project "571"* neither dropped from the skies nor was it innate in the minds of those who described themselves as "super-genius"; it was a reflection of social being. To be exact, this clique which proceeded from its reactionary bourgeois stand reflected the demands of unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists — who account for only a few per cent of the population — and the demands of a small number of new bourgeois elements and those intending to make use of bourgeois right to become new bourgeois elements. On the other hand, it opposed the demands of the revolutionary people, who make up more than 90 per cent of the population, to adhere to the socialist road. Members of this clique used idealist apriorism to oppose the materialist theory of reflection; however, the materialist theory of reflection must be used to explain how their counter-revolutionary ideas came into being.

Why would it be quite easy for people like Lin Piao to push the capitalist system if they should come to power? This is because in our socialist society there are still classes and class struggle, there are still the soil and conditions for engendering capitalism. In order to gradually reduce such soil and conditions and finally eliminate them altogether, we must persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is a task which the vanguard of the proletariat, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, can accomplish only through the firm and indomitable efforts of a number of generations. So we must adhere to the Party's basic line, enhance the political consciousness of the working class, consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, unite all forces that can be united with and unite the masses of revolutionary people and lead them in consciously remoulding their world outlook in the fight against class enemies and in the three great revolutionary movements of class

struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. And so we must consolidate and develop socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist collective ownership by working people, prevent the restoration of bourgeois right already liquidated with regard to the system of ownership and continue to fulfil, gradually and over a fairly long period of time, that part of the task which is yet to be fulfilled in the transformation of ownership; and with regard to the two other aspects in the relations of production, namely, the mutual relations between men and the relations of distribution, we must restrict bourgeois right, criticize the idea of bourgeois right and continually weaken the basis that engenders capitalism. So we must persevere in the revolution in the realm of the superstructure, deepen our criticism of revisionism and the bourgeoisie and achieve the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie.

In his talks given during an inspection tour of various places in the country in August and September 1971, Chairman Mao said: "We have been singing *The Internationale* for fifty years, and there have been ten occasions on which someone in our Party worked for a split. As I see it, another ten, twenty or thirty such occasions may arise. Don't you believe this? Well, if you don't, I do anyway. There will be no more struggles with the realization of communism? That's not what I believe. There will be struggles even then, although they will be struggles between the new and the old, between what is correct and what is wrong. Even tens of thousands of years from now, what is wrong won't pass, it won't stand up." Lenin said: "Yes, by overthrowing the landowners and bourgeoisie we cleared the way but we did not build the edifice of socialism. On the ground cleared of one bourgeois generation, new generations continually appear in history, as long as the ground gives rise to them, and it does give rise to any number of bourgeois. As for those who look at the victory over the capitalists in the way that the petty proprietors look at it — 'They grabbed, let me have a go too' — indeed, every one of them is the source of a new generation of bourgeois." What Lenin dealt with is the protracted nature of class struggle in society; what Chairman Mao deals with is the protracted nature of the two-line struggle which takes shape as a reflection in the Party of class struggle in society. We must carry out such class struggle and two-line struggle and continually defeat the bourgeoisie and its agents working for revisionism, for a split and for intrigues and conspiracy; only thus can we gradually create conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or for a new bourgeoisie to arise, and finally eliminate classes. Such is the great cause to be accomplished during the entire historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The new bourgeois elements who arise as a result of erosion by bourgeois ideas and the existence of bourgeois right generally share the political features of double-dealers and upstarts. In order to carry out capitalist activities under the dictatorship of the pro-

letariat, they always put up a certain socialist sign-board; since their restorationist activities aim not at seizing back any means of production of which they have been dispossessed but at grabbing the means of production they have never possessed, they are especially greedy, anxious to swallow at one gulp the wealth belonging to the whole people or the collective and place it under their private ownership. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique had these political features. "Like the Chungshan wolf in the ancient fable, you commit treachery once you are in a position to have your own way." These two lines from *The Dream of the Red Chamber*, which describe how Sun Shao-tsu, a relentless brute, "stoops to anything to adapt himself to the circumstances," can be aptly applied to the Lin Piao anti-Party clique. Before Lin Piao was "in a position to have his own way," that is, before he got hold of part of political and economic power, he used counter-revolutionary double-dealing tactics to deceive the Party and the masses, and utilized the might of the mass movement to serve his own ends; in doing this, he did not scruple at putting up a revolutionary sign-board or shouting revolutionary slogans while at the same time distorting them. Analysing the innermost feelings of Lin Piao and his gang in a letter written in the early days of the Great Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao pointed out: **"I guess their true intention is to make use of Chung Kuei to fight the ghosts."** [Chung Kuei is a legendary character said to have the power to drive away ghosts.] This put the case well. It was a case of making use of a brick to knock open the door, and once that was done they would no longer need it and would brutally get rid of it. Acting as counter-revolutionary double-dealers, opposing the red flag by waving red flags, "speaking nice things to your face but stabbing you in the back," or, as the Lin Piao anti-Party clique itself confessed, "waving Chairman Mao's banner to strike at Chairman Mao's forces"—these are but different ways of expressing things done in one and the same manner. The moment the Lin Piao anti-Party clique thought, as they put it, that "after several years of preparation, the ideological, organizational and military level has been raised considerably and an ideological and material foundation has been laid to a certain extent," they decided to have their own way. In units and departments under their domination and control, they turned socialist public ownership into the Lin Piao anti-Party clique's private ownership. More and more openly they exposed their political ambitions which were sure to grow as they were more and more "in a position to have their own way," just as the bourgeoisie's avarice knows no bounds and grows with the accumulation of capital. In analysing the bourgeoisie, Marx said: **"As capitalist, he is only capital personified. His soul is the soul of capital."** The soul of Lin Piao, a bourgeois agent inside the Party, was also nothing but the soul of the old bourgeoisie which has been toppled but dreams of a come-back and the soul of the new bourgeoisie which is coming into being and is vainly attempting to rule. A class analysis makes quite clear

the root cause of the perverse, counter-revolutionary political activities of Lin Piao and his gang: Preaching the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, betraying the Party and the Chinese people and going over to social-imperialism, they were engaged in the same kind of dirty business as the Chinese comprador-bourgeoisie which worshipped Confucius and betrayed the country; as to the counter-revolutionary coup d'état they so feverishly plotted, it was only a carbon copy of the method the bourgeoisie of many countries in the world has resorted to numerous times and still resorts to even to this day.

Our task is, on the one hand, to gradually dig away the soil breeding the bourgeoisie and capitalism and, on the other, to be able to see through in good time the new bourgeoisie like Lin Piao when it appears or is emerging. This is why the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is important. If we depart from the guidance of Marxism, we cannot accomplish the above-mentioned two tasks; moreover, when a revisionist trend of thought surfaces, one may be taken in and may even blindly board the gangsters' boat because of the idea of bourgeois right in one's own mind or because of failure to discern it. If this was not so, why did some people follow a revisionist line when it emerged? Why could Lin Piao and company deceive people at the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Party by resorting to idealism plus raising a big hullabaloo? Why could those naked words of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique aimed at splitting the Party and overthrowing the dictatorship of the proletariat find a market among a small number of cadres? Why could the "fleets," big and small, openly use such methods as giving feasts and presenting gifts, offering official posts and other favours as a means for luring people over to form a clique, for carrying out factional activities and for conspiring? Why did they write in their sinister notebooks such trash as "using expertise to cover up politics" and use it as their tactics for carrying out counter-revolutionary activities? There is a profound lesson here. In opposing the Peng Teh-huai anti-Party clique in 1959, Chairman Mao pointed out that **"at present, the main danger lies in empiricism."** Therefore we should read and study conscientiously. In the past decade and more, Chairman Mao has reiterated this opinion on many occasions. He stressed that high-ranking and intermediate Party cadres, first of all members of the Party Central Committee, **"should all conscientiously read and study according to their different levels and have a good grasp of Marxism."** He also stressed that **"in the next few years, special attention should be paid to propagating Marxism-Leninism."** After the collapse of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, Chairman Mao once again said: **"I formally advise comrades to do some reading."** And he again stressed this recently when he spoke of the dictatorship of the proletariat. How heartening these earnest and significant teachings are! All comrades in the Party, especially the high-ranking cadres, must

grasp conscientious study and reading as a matter of cardinal importance in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. First of all, they must themselves study well and thoroughly understand the expositions by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao and their main works on the dictatorship of the proletariat, strive to explain the question by integrating theory with practice and rid themselves, both ideologically and in action, of the bourgeois ideas and styles of work which are divorced from the masses, so as to identify themselves with the masses, really become promoters of the new emerging socialist things and be good at discerning and daring to resist corrosion by capitalism. We must inherit and carry forward our Party's glorious tradition of plain living and arduous struggle which has been developed over the past decades. We must have a clear understanding of the situation and study policies, including economic policies. It is imperative to adhere to the principle of grasping revolution and promoting production and other work and preparedness against war, a principle which has proved effective in practice. Attention should be paid to distinguishing between the two different types of contradictions and dealing accurate and powerful blows at the very small number of bad elements; as regards the bourgeois influence among the masses, it should be eliminated by applying the formula "unity, criticism, unity" — mainly by such methods as studying and raising consciousness, supporting advanced things which are firmly opposed to capitalism, recalling past suffering and contrasting it with today's happiness as well as persuading and educating people and making criticism and self-criticism, all for the purpose of uniting 95 per cent of the cadres and of the masses. In criticizing capitalist tendencies, it is necessary to create public opinion, win over the majority, awaken consciousness and give active guidance. As for the few who have sunk deep into the quagmire of capitalism, they must be told sharply: "Comrades, mend your ways right now!"

As was pointed out at the beginning of this article, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique was extremely isolated from the people of the whole country. In tracing its emergence to the class roots, we pointed to the soil and conditions which produced the Lin Piao anti-Party clique. After stating this aspect of the matter, we must also point out that the Lin Piao anti-Party clique was in essence very feeble; like all reactionaries, it was only a paper tiger. All the counter-revolutionary activities of this clique constituted only a record of defeat and impasse, not of victory. The socialist system is bound to replace the capitalist system and communism is bound to triumph throughout the world; this is an objective law independent of man's will. Since socialist society is born out of the old society, it "is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birth marks of the old society from whose womb it emerges."

This is not strange. The history of the past 25 years tells us that so long as we uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat, adhere to Chairman Mao's theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and keep to the line, principles and policies for the socialist revolution which Chairman Mao has laid down for us, we are able to smash the resistance put up by the class enemies, erase these birth marks step by step and continually win fresh victories. The present excellent situation marked by ever greater prosperity of our socialist cause is in sharp contrast to the situation of imperialism and social-imperialism which are disintegrating internally and beset with difficulties at home and abroad. Chairman Mao's latest instruction on the question of theory will certainly enable us, both in theory and in practice, to understand more fully the historical tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the ways to accomplish them; it will greatly help consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, deepen the socialist revolution, spur the development of socialist construction and promote nationwide stability and unity. The Communists of China are full of confidence, so are the proletariat and the revolutionary people of the country. United as one and in high spirits, they are waging a struggle under the leadership of the Party to combat and prevent revisionism. The history of the Chinese revolution is a history of the revolutionary people advancing to victory through tortuous struggles and the reactionaries heading for destruction after repeated trials of strength. As Chairman Mao has summed it up: "In China, after the emperor was overthrown in 1911, no reactionary was able to stay long in power. The longest was only twenty years (Chiang Kai-shek), but he was also toppled once the people rose in revolt. Chiang Kai-shek climbed to power by taking advantage of Sun Yat-sen's trust in him and by running the Whampoa Academy and gathering around him a big bunch of reactionaries. Practically the whole landlord class and bourgeoisie supported him when he turned against the Communist Party. Moreover, the Communist Party was inexperienced at the time. So, he gleefully gained temporary ascendancy. In those twenty years, however, he never achieved unification. There occurred the war between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, the wars between the Kuomintang and the various warlord cliques, the Sino-Japanese war and, finally, the four-year large-scale civil war, which sent him scampering to a cluster of islands. If the Rightists were to stage an anti-Communist coup d'etat in China, I am sure they would have no peace either and their rule would most probably be short-lived, because it would never be tolerated by the revolutionaries who represent the interests of the people constituting more than 90 per cent of the population." "The conclusion is still the two oft-repeated sentences: The future is bright; the road is tortuous." Let us advance courageously in the direction and along the road pointed out by Chairman Mao!

(A translation of an article in "Hongqi," No. 3, 1975)

Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping's Speech

(Excerpts)

THE People's Republic of the Congo is among the earliest countries in Black Africa to establish diplomatic relations with China. Prime Minister Lopes is our old friend who has visited China twice. It fills us with special warmth and joy that His Excellency has now come to our country again at the head of a Government Delegation. I am hosting this evening's banquet in the name of Premier Chou En-lai. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, I express warm welcome to His Excellency the Prime Minister and Mme. Lopes and all the other distinguished Congolese guests.

The People's Republic of the Congo is a beautiful and richly-endowed country in equatorial Africa. The Congolese people have a glorious tradition of combating imperialism and colonialism. Under the leadership of President Marien N'Gouabi, the Congolese Government and people have frustrated repeated imperialist schemes of subversion, victoriously safeguarding their national independence and state sovereignty, and have made unremitting efforts and achieved gratifying results in protecting national resources and developing the national economy. In international affairs, the Congolese Government has stood for African solidarity, persevered in combating imperialism and colonialism, vigorously supported national-liberation movements in Asia and Africa, opposed exploitation and plunder by such countries and taken an active part in the developing countries' struggle to safeguard national rights and interests, thus making valuable contributions to the third world's cause of unity against imperialism.

The Chinese Government and people heartily rejoice at the successes of the Congolese Government and people. We sincerely wish the fraternal Congolese people new and greater victories on their road of advance.

The present international situation is indeed excellent. The trend of revolution of the people of all countries is growing. Like a torrential tide, the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-hegemonic struggle, of which the third world is the main force, is pounding away at the old world. The recent conferences of developing countries held in Dakar and Algiers again demonstrated the firm determination of the third world

countries and people to unite as one in a common endeavour to break the old world economic order and establish new international economic relationships. The national-liberation movements in great Africa are surging forward irresistibly. The people in the former Portuguese colonies, persevering in a long and valiant armed struggle, have scored one victory after another on their way to win national independence. The regimes of a handful of white racists in southern Africa are tottering. The vast and richly-endowed continent of Africa is bound to win complete independence and liberation.

Imperialism, and the superpowers in particular, are ridden with crises and beset with difficulties. In order to extricate themselves from their domestic and external predicament, the two superpowers are engaged in intensified contention for world hegemony at swords' points, and at the same time they are going from place to place talking volubly about "detente." Doesn't this remind us of the phenomenon we often see of swallows flying low and busily at dusk, a sign that it is about to rain? The fierce contention between the superpowers is bound to lead to a new world war, and the people of all countries must get prepared. We are convinced that whether revolution prevents war or war gives rise to revolution, in either case the future of the world will be bright. Imperialism of all descriptions will inevitably be buried once and for all.

Both China and the Congo are developing countries belonging to the third world. In their common struggle to combat imperialism and build their respective countries, the Chinese and Congolese peoples have always sympathized with and supported each other and have forged a profound friendship. The Congolese Government and people have made valuable efforts in supporting the just cause of the Chinese people. I wish to take this opportunity to express our sincere thanks. President Marien N'Gouabi's visit to China in 1973 added a brilliant chapter to the annals of Sino-Congolese relations and left fine memories with us. The current visit by His Excellency Prime Minister Lopes will certainly further consolidate and strengthen the amicable co-operation and militant friendship between our two countries.

Prime Minister Lopes' Speech

(Excerpts)

A PEOPLE constantly on the alert, ready to respond to any enemy attack, enthusiastic in their endeavour of economic development and social transformation, marching with determination towards the summits of communism — this is your image formed in the mind of every Congolese in my country.

This is also the reality that we discover with interest since our arrival in China.

In spite of the distance that separates our two countries and the language barrier, the relations between the peoples of China and the Congo date from long ago.

Eleven years ago, almost in the same month, the Government of the People's Republic of China and that of the Congo decided to establish diplomatic relations at the ambassadorial level.

Today, we feel satisfied in noting that what the Congo did eleven years ago has been followed by nearly all the African states and the majority of governments in the world, thus enabling the restoration to China of her legitimate rights in the United Nations.

During this period, many exchanges of delegations and a fruitful co-operation have developed for the benefit of our two peoples.

The high degree of this militant co-operation was vividly demonstrated in 1973 when Major Marien N'Gouabi, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Congolese Party of Labour and President of the Republic, paid a state visit to the People's Republic of China at the invitation of the Government of your country. The tenor of the talks he had then with your leaders, and particularly with your great helmsman Chairman Mao Tsetung and Comrade Premier Chou En-lai cemented a friendship founded on revolutionary principles. That was above all for us an occasion to observe that, despite the small size of our country, the Chinese leaders and people pledge to us an unfailing consideration and solidarity.

Under his wise leadership, we in fact put an end to the confusion caused by those who in their verbiages pretended that we were already building socialism. We defined the principal contradiction of our society as one which opposes the Congolese people to imperialism as a whole, and particularly to the dominant imperialism in the Congo.

In Africa, pursuing a good neighbour policy with all the countries that surround us, we have worked for the maintenance of peace in the region.

Vigorously defending all the just, progressive and revolutionary positions within O.A.U., we always un-

reservedly support the liberation movements against colonialism and minority regimes of the racists.

Now that Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola are triumphantly winning their independence after years of suffering, sacrifice and heroic struggle, the stranglehold has tightened around the last bastions of servitude in the world. It is important that African states and all progressive forces unite themselves more closely than ever to help the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania demolish once and for all the anachronistic minority regimes of the racists that are condemned without appeal.

In Africa, in spite of a widespread and tenacious presence of neo-colonialism, the general situation looks to us favourable to the progressive and revolutionary forces.

In Asia, the People's Republic of the Congo will always support with the same vigour the heroic people of Viet Nam in their military struggle as well as their struggle for the implementation of the Paris agreements. In the same way, we unconditionally support our brothers in the National United Front of Kampuchea in the face of U.S. imperialist aggression. We are convinced that the day is approaching when Lon Nol and his clique will willy-nilly give way to the legitimate leaders of the Cambodian people, I wish to say, to the Royal Government of National Union of Kampuchea under the leadership of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk.

Every time imperialism flouts the right of the peoples, thus creating hot spots on whatever continent, the People's Republic of the Congo will support the struggle of the oppressed. This explains our support to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as well as our complete and unconditional support to the struggle of the Palestinian people against Israeli Zionist aggression.

The Congo cannot consider her struggle independent of the struggle of the whole third world to regain real sovereignty and a dignity too long insulted. That is why we hail the victories won by the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries over the capitalist world.

But we also believe that this victory should lead all third world countries to regroup themselves in organizations to protect the value of their primary goods so that the so-called "trade terms" may be improved in the interest of the real producers of such wealth. It is in this context that the Congo vigorously supports the creation already under way of an Organization of Timber Exporting African Countries and supports without reservation the resolutions of the Conference of

Developing Countries on Raw Materials held in Dakar from February 3 to 8, 1975 and the Conference of the "Group of 77" held in Algiers from February 15 to 18, 1975.

We take the opportunity made available to us this evening to solemnly extend, on behalf of President

Marien N'Gouabi and in my own name, our fraternal and militant congratulations to Chairman Mao Tsetung on the victory of his line in the recent Congress of the Communist Party of China and to Premier Chou En-lai on the reinforcement of the responsibilities entrusted to him.

Press Communique

AT the invitation of the Government of the People's Republic of China, the Mozambique Friendship Delegation led by Samora Moises Machel, President of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), paid an official visit to the People's Republic of China from February 20 to March 2, 1975.

During their stay in China, President Samora Machel and the delegation led by him visited factories, rural people's communes, educational institutions, a People's Liberation Army unit, scenic spots and historical monuments in Peking, Tientsin, Tachai, Taiyuan, Yenan, Sian, Chengtu and Shanghai and were everywhere accorded warm welcome by the Chinese Government and people.

Premier Chou En-lai had a cordial meeting with President Samora Machel. Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping and President Samora Machel held talks on developing the militant friendship and fraternal co-operation between the peoples of China and Mozambique, on the African situation and on some current major international issues. The atmosphere of the talks was characterized by sincerity, mutual understanding and solidarity as between comrades-in-arms. Both sides expressed satisfaction with the results of the talks.

The two sides consider that at present the international situation is developing in a direction more and more favourable to the revolutionary people of the world and unfavourable to colonialism and imperialism. Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution — this has become the irresistible trend of history. The two sides note with satisfaction that the third world is constantly stepping up its common struggle and playing an ever greater role in international affairs. The two sides pledge their firm support for the revolutionary people of all countries in their just struggles.

The two sides note with great pleasure that the situation of the African people's united struggle against imperialism is excellent. The many African states are continuing their triumphant advance along the road to consolidate national independence. The struggle of the people in the non-independent territories for national liberation is mounting steadily. The heroic peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau have finally

crushed Portuguese colonial rule in Africa through protracted people's war. This is a great victory for the African people. The two sides are sure, however, that imperialist and reactionary forces will not be reconciled to defeat but will mount counter-attacks, while neo-colonialists will seek all opportunities to carry out sabotage and make trouble. The African people should continue their fight. The two sides are confident that the African people, strengthening their unity, heightening their vigilance, persevering in struggle and relying on their own efforts, will certainly overcome all difficulties and obstacles on their road to win independence and liberation for the whole of Africa. The two sides express full support for the people in Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa and other non-independent territories in their struggle against colonialism and racism and for national independence, democracy, justice and progress.

The two sides hail the great victories won by the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia in their just struggles against U.S. imperialism and its puppet forces and in defence of national independence and national unity. These victories constitute a great contribution to the common struggle of all peoples against imperialism.

The two sides express support for the Korean people in their just struggle to terminate the imperialist occupation of the south and bring about the peaceful reunification of the fatherland.

The two sides support the just struggle of the Arab people for the liberation of the occupied territories and that of the Palestinian people for the restoration of their national rights.

The Chinese side highly praises the Mozambican people for the protracted people's war they have waged under the leadership of President Samora Machel and FRELIMO to oppose colonial-imperialist rule and aggression, win national independence and establish the people's political power and warmly congratulates the Mozambican people on their great victory in winning the right to national independence. The Chinese side considers the Mozambican people's just struggle to be an important support for the Chinese people and all revolutionary people of the world in their struggle against imperialism. The Chinese side is convinced that the Mozambican people, persevering in sustained struggle,

maintaining independence, initiative and self-reliance and supported by all peoples of Africa and the world, will certainly attain their noble objective of complete national independence and build Mozambique into a prosperous state serving the masses.

The Mozambican side congratulates the Chinese people on the great successes they have achieved in socialist revolution and socialist construction under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tsetung and the Communist Party of China.

The Mozambican side highly appraises the internationalist support given by the Chinese Government and people to the Mozambican people's struggle.

The Mozambican side firmly condemns U.S. imperialism for its various schemes to continue its occupation of Taiwan — an inalienable part of China's territory — and resolutely supports the Chinese people in their just struggle for the liberation of Taiwan.

The two sides stress that the Chinese and Mozambican peoples have forged a profound militant friendship in the protracted common struggle, and that further

development of friendly co-operation between the two peoples fully conforms with their interests and desires and is in the interest of strengthening the cause of anti-imperialist unity of the people of the world. The two sides have agreed that China and Mozambique will establish diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level on June 25, 1975, the day when Mozambique proclaims her independence, and will establish fraternal relations of friendly co-operation in the economic, cultural and other fields.

President Samora Machel has invited a delegation of the Chinese Government and people to attend the celebrations of the proclamation of national independence on June 25, 1975. The Chinese side has accepted this invitation with great pleasure.

The two sides point out with satisfaction that President Samora Machel's current visit to the People's Republic of China is a complete success and a positive contribution towards strengthening the friendship between China and Mozambique.

Peking, March 2, 1975

28th Anniversary of February 28 Uprising Of People in Taiwan Province Commemorated

MORE than 100 people in the Chinese capital — personalities of all circles and compatriots of Taiwan Province origin — attended a meeting in the Taiwan Hall of the Great Hall of the People in the afternoon of February 28 in commemoration of the 28th anniversary of the February 28 Uprising of the people in Taiwan Province.

Among those present were: Yeh Chien-ying, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference; Hsu Hsiang-chien, Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Ulanfu, Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme and Chou Chien-jen, Vice-Chairmen of the N.P.C. Standing Committee; Hsu Teh-heng, Vice-Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee and Vice-Chairman of the C.P.P.C.C. National Committee; Hu Chueh-wen, Vice-Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee; Shen Yen-ping, Vice-Chairman of the C.P.P.C.C. National Committee; Ting

Kuo-yu, Lo Ching-chang, Chi Peng-fei and Liao Cheng-chih, Members of the C.P.C. Central Committee; Lin Li-yun and Tsai Hsiao, Members of the C.P.C. Central Committee and compatriots of Taiwan Province origin; Yang Cheng-wu, Deputy Chief of General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army; Liang Pi-yeh, Deputy Director of the P.L.A. General Political Department; Chang Tsung-hsun, Director of the P.L.A. General Logistics Department; Liu Yu-fa, Li Chin-teh and Tung Hsiao-peng, leading members of the United Front Work Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee, and representatives of workers, youth and women.

Twenty-eight years ago, inspired by the great leader Chairman Mao's militant call: "Greet the new high tide of the Chinese revolution," and influenced by the victorious advances of the revolution throughout the country, the people of Taiwan Province, who have a tradition of patriotic, anti-imperialist struggle, heroically staged the February 28 Armed Uprising which shook the reactionary rule of the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Taiwan and assisted the revolutionary struggle of the people on the mainland of the motherland. The meeting warmly praised the spirit of revolutionary

struggle of the people of Taiwan Province and expressed deep grief over the death of the martyrs in the uprising and cordial sympathy to their families. The meeting also paid high tribute and pledged firm support to the people of Taiwan Province in their current patriotic and just struggle for the liberation of Taiwan and the unification of the motherland.

The meeting was sponsored by the C.P.P.C.C. National Committee and presided over by Vice-Chairman Hsu Teh-heng. Comrade Liao Cheng-chih was the first to take the floor, followed by 14 other speakers representing various circles and compatriots of Taiwan Province origin.

Among others attending the meeting were Members of the N.P.C. Standing Committee, N.P.C. Deputies, Members and Standing Committee Members of the C.P.P.C.C. National Committee, representatives of the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League and compatriots of Taiwan Province origin, and personalities from all walks of life in Peking.

Comrade Liao Cheng-chih's Speech

Compatriots of Taiwan Province origin, friends and comrades:

Today is the 28th anniversary of the February 28 Uprising of the people of Taiwan Province. First of all, let us express deep grief over the death of the martyrs of the uprising and cordial sympathy to their families!

In 1947, when the revolutionary struggle led by the Communist Party of China against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism entered a new stage — that of the great people's revolution — our great leader Chairman Mao issued the fighting call to the army-men and people of the whole country: **"Greet the new high tide of the Chinese revolution."** Inspired by the revolutionary developments in the country as a whole, the people of Taiwan Province, known for their tradition of patriotic struggle against imperialism, heroically staged the February 28 Armed Uprising which shook the reactionary rule of the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Taiwan and assisted in the revolutionary struggle of the people on the mainland of the motherland. The February 28 Uprising was a component part of the new-democratic revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party. We hereby extend our high respects to the patriotic actions of the people of Taiwan Province and their revolutionary fighting spirit!

Compatriots, friends and comrades! Earth-shaking changes have taken place in China over the past two decades and more. Led by the Communist Party of China headed by Chairman Mao and guided by his proletarian revolutionary line, our country has developed from a semi-feudal and semi-colonial one into a thriving socialist state enjoying independence and initiative and the beginnings of prosperity. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to

criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, in particular, smashed the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and of Lin Piao, and repudiated their counter-revolutionary revisionist lines and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius they advocated which stood for restoration, retrogression and national betrayal, thus further strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat and promoting socialist construction. Our great achievements prove that **only socialism can save China.**

The Second Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the First Session of the Fourth National People's Congress held under the leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao were meetings of unity, meetings of victory. Chairman Mao's recent instruction on the question of the theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat is of extremely great current significance and far-reaching historical significance for opposing and preventing revisionism, for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, for guarding against a capitalist restoration, for steadfastly implementing the Party's basic line and for persevering in the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the form of a fundamental charter, the Constitution of the People's Republic of China adopted by the Fourth National People's Congress, which consolidates the fruits of our victory and defines the nature, line and policies of our state and its structure and tasks, reflects the common aspiration of the people of our country to persevere in the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In his Report on the Work of the Government, Premier Chou En-lai put forward the splendid goal of building China into a powerful modern socialist country before the end of the century as well as various principles and tasks. The people of all nationalities in China are conscientiously studying the theory of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao on the dictatorship of the proletariat and continuing to broaden, deepen and persevere in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. They are determined to run China's own affairs well and make a greater contribution to mankind.

The composition of the Fourth National People's Congress fully demonstrates the great unity of our people of all nationalities who, led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, includes the patriotic democratic parties, patriotic personages, patriotic overseas Chinese and our compatriots in Hongkong and Macao; it also shows the continuing development of the revolutionary united front. Among the Deputies to the Fourth National People's Congress were 12 compatriots of Taiwan Province origin, including those from among workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres, intellectuals and people of the Kao-shan nationality as well as the patriotic personage Mr. Chen Yi-sung. At the session, four Deputies of Taiwan Province origin were elected members of the Presidium and two were elected Members of the N.P.C. Standing Committee. This reflects the deep solicitude of the Chinese Communist Party and the people on the main-

land of the motherland for their fellow-countrymen in Taiwan Province and shows that those of Taiwan Province origin living in the mainland of the motherland, like the rest of the people here, are masters of the country.

Compatriots, friends and comrades!

Taiwan Province has been part of China's sacred territory since ancient times and our fellow-countrymen in Taiwan are our kith and kin. At the Fourth National People's Congress, Premier Chou En-lai once again solemnly declared: "We are determined to liberate Taiwan! Fellow-countrymen in Taiwan and people of the whole country, unite and work together to achieve the noble aim of liberating Taiwan and unifying the motherland!" The Congress called on "the people of the whole country and the commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army to firmly implement Chairman Mao's principle **dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony**, strengthen preparedness against war, and be ready at all times to wipe out any enemy that dares intrude. We are determined to liberate Taiwan!" All this demonstrates the iron will and strong resolve of the people of all nationalities in our country, the people of Taiwan Province included.

At present, the Chiang Kai-shek clique is beset with internal and external difficulties and is threatened by growing crises. It finds life getting tougher and tougher. Pounded by the serious economic crisis of the capitalist world, Taiwan's colonial economy is deteriorating daily, with industrial and agricultural production slumping, small and medium-sized enterprises closing down in growing numbers, the trade balance in the red, prices soaring and unemployment snowballing. The people are in dire poverty and the society is in turmoil. The Chiang Kai-shek clique, however, continues to step up its worship-Confucius activities and invoke the dead soul of Confucius in an attempt to hoodwink and control fellow-countrymen in Taiwan Province and maintain its reactionary rule. The Chiang clique also has worked hand in glove with the *Sankei Shimbun* of Japan in publishing the so-called "secret memoirs" which stand history on its head in a bid to glorify the Kuomintang reactionaries and former Japanese militarism by singing the praises of their past deeds. But, **where there is oppression there is resistance**. Compatriots in Taiwan Province all along cherish an ardent love for the motherland and they have a glorious revolutionary tradition. The Chiang clique's cruel exploitation and rule by secret agents have evoked extreme indignation among fellow-countrymen in Taiwan. More and more of them have seen through the reactionary features of the Chiang Kai-shek clique. Their love for the great leader Chairman Mao grows ever stronger, as does their support for the Chinese Communist Party and their yearning for the socialist motherland. Many of them have overcome a host of obstacles to return to visit the mainland of the motherland and see their relatives. Through these contacts,

they have enhanced their understanding of the mainland of the motherland and strengthened their confidence in struggle. Fellow-countrymen in Taiwan Province are using various forms to continue their fight against the Chiang clique's tyrannical rule, and their demand for liberating Taiwan and unifying the motherland is daily growing louder. We express our high esteem and firm support for the people in Taiwan Province in their patriotic and just struggle. It is our deep conviction that the patriotic forces in Taiwan will unite and grow in strength and that no reactionary forces whatsoever can thwart the struggle of the people in Taiwan Province to liberate Taiwan and unify the motherland.

We hope that more and more compatriots from Taiwan will come back to tour the mainland of the motherland, see relatives and take part in various activities. The Third National Games of the People's Republic of China are scheduled to take place in Peking in September this year. We enthusiastically welcome physical culture workers and sportsmen in Taiwan Province and those among Taiwan-born overseas Chinese to form a sports delegation to participate in this sports festival.

The present international situation which is characterized by great disorder under heaven continues to develop in a direction favourable to the people. The capitalist world faces its worst economic crisis after the war. The basic contradictions in the world are further sharpening. The two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are in rivalry for world hegemony with growing ferocity. The factors for both people's revolution and imperialist war are growing. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs, we resolutely oppose the hegemonism carried out by the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, resolutely combat colonialism and neo-colonialism, and strengthen our unity with the people of all countries, particularly the people of the third world. We have friends all over the world. In this situation, it is absolutely impossible for a handful of anti-China and anti-communist diehards abroad to succeed with their plots of "two Chinas," "one China, two governments" and "the independence of Taiwan," etc. that they have engineered in order to stick a finger in the pie of China's Taiwan Province.

The developments in the domestic and international situation are more and more favourable to our struggle to liberate Taiwan. Of the personnel in all fields who went to Taiwan from the mainland, patriots are many and traitors are only a few. It is the consistent policy of the Communist Party and the People's Government that all patriots belong to one big family, whether they come forward early or late. We hope that they will see the situation clearly, stand on the side of patriotism and anti-imperialism and contribute their share to fulfilling the noble cause of liberating Taiwan and unifying the motherland. We also welcome them

to tour the mainland of the motherland and visit relatives and friends. We will ensure their safety and freedom of entry and departure. Taiwan must be liberated and our motherland must be unified. If the handful of diehards persist in their wrong course, attempt to rely on imperialism to prolong their dying breath and commit the crime of undermining the unification of the motherland, they will certainly come to no good end.

Compatriots, friends and comrades! Let us rally closely under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by our great leader Chairman Mao and under the guidance of his proletarian revolutionary line, and together strive to accomplish the fighting tasks set by the Fourth National People's Congress and achieve the noble aim of liberating Taiwan and unifying the motherland!

Working Women's Struggle Against Confucianism in Chinese History

INEQUALITY between men and women is not a social phenomenon dating back to time immemorial, but it emerged together with the slave system. Oppression of working women is, first and foremost, class oppression. Inequality between men and women is created by class antagonism. Precisely as Engels pointed out: "The first class antagonism which appears in history coincides with the development of the antagonism between man and woman in monogamian marriage, and the first class oppression with that of the female sex by the male." (*The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.*)

Doctrines of Confucius and Mencius Are Ropes Binding the Working Women

Towards the end of the Spring and Autumn Period (770-476 B.C.) in China, the Confucian school represented by Confucius feverishly trumpeted the reactionary fallacy that man was superior to woman. He regarded women as low as slaves and preached that "only women and inferior men are difficult to keep." Confucius held that the relations between husband and wife, like those between king and minister and between father and son, were all between master and servant and that this principle was universal under heaven. During the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.) Mencius, a devotee of Confucius, arbitrarily drew a line between men and women and advocated that "between men and women things should not personally be given and taken." He regarded a wife as a husband's slave and prattled that for a woman morality meant only obedience. Under the influence of the reactionary preachings of Confucius and Mencius, some of the so-called Confucian classics went even further. They formulated many reactionary dog-

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mas such as the "Three Obediences and Four Virtues" (obedience to the father and elder brothers when young, obedience to the husband when married, and obedience to the sons when widowed; women's virtue, speech, appearance and chores), women taking part in political affairs would give rise to the danger of national subjugation and "separation of men and women" was a "major moral principle of a country." They thus imposed numerous spiritual shackles on the masses of working women. All these reactionary fallacies spread by Confucius and Mencius were entirely for the purpose of upholding and trying to restore the slave system.

With the daily sharpening of the contradiction between the peasant class and the landlord class after the middle of the Western Han Dynasty (206 B.C.- 8 A.D.), the landlord class gradually switched from respect for the Legalist school and opposing the Confucian school to worshipping the latter and opposing the former. As a result, reactionary Confucian ideas on the question of women developed further. A devotee of Confucius, Tung Chung-shu babbled that relations between husband and wife, like those between king and minister or father and son, were decided by the *yin-yang* relationship. The husband represented *yang* (male or positive element) and the wife *yin* (female or negative element). Pan Ku of the Eastern Han Dynasty (25-220) epitomized this idea as follows: "The sovereign guides the ministers, the father guides the son and the husband guides the wife." They alleged that the difference in status between men and women following the appearance of class antagonism was absolute and eternal like "*yang* being superior to *yin*" or the sky above the earth. This fallacy of deciding the status of men and women by the *yin-yang* principle put a theological cloak over the reactionary theories for oppressing women.

Ardent followers of Confucius in the Tang Dynasty (618-907) turned out many reactionary works such as *Analects for Women* and *Filial Piety for Women* to inculcate among the masses of working women the idea

of man being superior to woman. These writings did everything possible to spread ideas that women must keep to their "chastity" and "submissively accept all unfair treatment" and that "between men and women things should not personally be given and taken." Some even prescribed that a woman "should not look back when walking, twitch her lips when talking, move her knees when sitting, rustle her skirt when standing, laugh when happy and shout when angry." If she followed these rules in all her acts, could she look like a living person?

As the peasants' struggle against the landlord class mounted wave upon wave in the Sung Dynasty (960-1279), the latter became more and more reactionary. Some followers of Confucius and Mencius made big efforts to elaborate the reactionary canon that "the sovereign guides the ministers, the father guides the son and the husband guides the wife." They said this was prescribed by heaven long before the appearance of humanity. An apologist for the landlord class called Cheng Yi demanded that women strictly keep to their "chastity" and shouted that "starving to death is very insignificant, while loss of chastity (for a widow to remarry was regarded as loss of chastity) is a great matter." He thus openly preached that women should become willing sacrifices to the feudal ethical code. Countless numbers of women in the ensuing 800 years were victims of this reactionary idea advocated by Cheng Yi.

The Ming (1368-1644) and Ching (1644-1911) Dynasties were in the late period of feudal society. To stave off their decline and fall, the reactionary rulers were even more frantic in propagating the idea of male superiority. For more than 500 years a great many books preaching this idea were put out. They included systematically edited collections, popular readers and writings promulgated for the whole nation in the name of the supreme feudal rulers. This motley collection of books made the victimization of women more barbaric than ever before.

After the Revolution of 1911, Yuan Shih-kai who dreamt of restoring the monarchy and the autocrat and traitor to the people Chiang Kai-shek completely inherited the mantle of the previous reactionary rulers. They preached that "relations between husband and wife" and the "separation of men and women" advocated by the Confucian school were "immutable principles of social life." Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, revisionist chieftains in the Party, and their gangs also took over all that Confucius preached and continued spreading the reactionary idea of men being superior to women. Slandering women as "backward" and "useless," they tried to continue putting Chinese women in bondage to the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius so as to restore capitalism in China.

Working Women — a Great Revolutionary Force

Where there is oppression, there is resistance. Numerous facts in Chinese history have proved that the

working women not only can shatter the bonds of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, but are a great revolutionary force in the fight against feudalism, Confucianism and imperialism.

Struggle Against Feudalism. Men in China were generally subjected to the domination of three authorities: political, clan and religious. As for women, in addition to being dominated by these three authorities, they were also dominated by men or the authority of the husband. Chairman Mao has said: "These four authorities — political, clan, religious and masculine — are the embodiment of the whole feudal-patriarchal system and ideology, and are the four thick ropes binding the Chinese people, particularly the peasants." "The political authority of the landlords is the backbone of all the other systems of authority." (*Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan.*) In their struggle for liberation, the working women made feudal rule of the landlord class their first target of attack.

Towards the end of the Western Han Dynasty, Mother Lu of Haichu (present-day Jihchao County, Shantung Province) had bitter hatred for the exorbitant taxes and levies of the reactionary government. When her son was unjustly killed by the magistrate, this aggravated her pent-up hatred and enmity and she organized more than 1,000 impoverished peasants to stage an uprising in 17 A.D., proclaiming herself the general. Under her leadership, they took Haichu by storm, executed the magistrate, continued fighting the reactionary government and soon their army expanded to more than 10,000 people. After the death of Mother Lu, most of her units joined the rebellious peasant armies in other places. This formed a big nationwide peasant uprising which overthrew that reactionary regime.

The heroine Tang Sai-erh from Putai (present-day Pohsing County, Shantung Province) was a leader of a peasant uprising in Shantung in the early Ming Dynasty. By propagating revolution and organizing the masses, she assembled the armed peasant forces in the surrounding areas and established a rural revolutionary base area in 1420. The Ming government hurriedly dispatched troops to suppress the uprising. Spurring on her horse, Tang Sai-erh killed the enemy commander with her sword, and the enemy troops were completely annihilated. Terror-stricken, the Ming ruler immediately sent a senior officer to put down the uprising. Though encircled, she directed her troops to feint an attack on one place while striking at another, thus enabling the peasant forces to break through the encirclement and move to a place of safety. After the failure of the uprising, the Ming ruler twice issued orders to search for and arrest Tang Sai-erh, but the enemy never found her, for she was well protected by the masses.

Great Force in Criticizing Doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. The doctrines of Confucius and Mencius are spiritual pillars to uphold and restore the reactionary rule of the exploiting classes and ropes to enslave and

bind the working women. In their struggle against this reactionary rule, the working women of China have heavily pounded and swept away these doctrines.

During the early period of the Tang Dynasty, Chen Shuo-chen from Muchow (present-day Chienteh County in Chekiang Province) and her brother-in-law Chang Shu-yin led an armed uprising in Chekiang in 653 A.D. She proclaimed herself Emperor Wen Chia and appointed Chang Shu-yin her prime minister. She threw overboard the Confucian fallacy that women should only stay at home and cook and "not take part in political affairs," and so by her actions she criticized the reactionary Confucian concept that the "right to rule comes directly from heaven." She was the first woman emperor of a revolutionary political power founded by the working people in Chinese history.

During the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom revolutionary movement in the mid-19th century, working women actively took part in the armed struggle and in the movement opposing Confucianism.

The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom firmly opposed the idea and practice of male supremacy and stood for four great equalities — political equality, economic equality, equality among nationalities and equality between man and woman.

Politically, women in the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom took part in extensive political activities and many held important official posts up to the highest ranks. Economically, the kingdom stipulated that "land shall be distributed according to the number of persons, irrespective of sex." Militarily, men and women were armed alike to fight the enemy and the Taiping Army recruited a large number of soldiers from among the working women. There were about 100,000 women soldiers and many women generals, marshals and commanders. In the cultural and educational spheres, both men and women could take part in government examinations. In one special examination for women, the examinees exceeded 200 and both the chief and deputy examiners were women.

Heroines Resisting Imperialist Aggression. As a result of imperialist aggression after the Opium War in 1840, China was gradually reduced to a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. The calamity-ridden Chinese working people at that time shouldered the herculean task of opposing imperialism, feudalism and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The history of China's transformation into a semi-colony and colony by imperialism in collusion with Chinese feudalism is at the same time a history of struggle by the Chinese people against imperialism and its lackeys." (*The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party.*) Many working women's heroic deeds are listed in the records of the Chinese people's struggle against imperialist aggression.

After British troops had invaded and occupied Kwangchow in 1841, they went to pillage in Sanyuanli on its northern outskirts. Raising banners with the

characters Ping Ying Tuan (Quell the British Corps), the heroic Sanyuanli people took up arms and gave the British invading troops a sound beating. Men and women, old and young, tens of thousands of people from 103 neighbouring villages joined forces to chase the retreating panic-stricken enemy. Ah Feng, wife of Chou Chun who was one of the Ping Ying Tuan leaders, was a courageous and skilful fighter in the corps and was warmly acclaimed by the masses. The enemy dared not go near her. The women of Sanyuanli played a positive role in the struggle against the British invaders and proved through their own actions that the Chinese working women were an important force in the struggle against imperialism.

The Small Sword Society of Shanghai staged an armed uprising in 1853 to fight tit for tat against U.S., British and French imperialism and their lackeys. Chou Hsiu-ying, daughter of a leader of the rebellious army, Chou Li-chun, was adept at using a big sword and the masses called her Big Sword Girl Hsiu. At 17, she and her father joined in the struggle against the feudal landlords by refusing to pay the land rent. She was made a general after the uprising and heroically resisted the Ching government troops in the campaign to defend Chiating near Shanghai. When the Ching troops attacked Shanghai, she enticed the enemy to advance deep into a trap and large numbers of enemy troops were killed. In the fierce battle to break out of Shanghai, she fought courageously against the U.S., British and French aggressors and gave up her young life.

An Anglo-French allied army occupied Peking and Tientsin in 1860 and burnt and reduced the Yuan Ming Yuan Summer Palace in Peking's western suburbs to ashes. The British troops twice invaded Hsiehchuang Village, five kilometres from the palace. When the enemy came to the village the second time, Feng Wan-chen, a 19-year-old daughter of a hunter's family, and the village's young hunters decided to take action. By launching a surprise attack, they killed more than 100 enemy troops and made the rest flee helter-skelter, leaving their guns and ammunition behind. Not fearing a strong enemy and daring to struggle, Feng Wan-chen personified the Chinese working women's glorious tradition in fighting tyranny.

Revelations of History

First, China's working women are a great revolutionary force. Not willing to be bound by the "four ropes," they are firm in putting up resistance, in making revolution and in transforming society. That was why they took part in every one of the hundreds of peasant uprisings in Chinese history. Marx said: "Anybody who knows anything of history knows that great social changes are impossible without the feminine ferment." (*Marx to L. Kugelmann.*) Although past revolutionary struggles by the working people, including the working women, did not win final victory, their struggles alone were the real force propelling the development of history in feudal society.

Second, male superiority is the product of private property and class oppression. The women question is a question of class struggle. Women's emancipation can be realized only by first overthrowing the social system in which there is exploitation and oppression of man by man. Working women in the past fought heroically in the forefront of the struggle, but because of the limitations of historical conditions they could not win real equality between men and women. It was only under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party that Chinese women together with men overthrew the three big mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism weighing down on the Chinese people, toppled the criminal system that caused all kinds of suffering to China's women, and fundamentally removed the class origin of exploitation and oppression of women. Today they are vigorously playing their great "one-half" role in the three great revolutionary movements—class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment.

Third, only with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought can we thoroughly triumph over the doctrines

of Confucius and Mencius and smash the spiritual shackles imposed on women. Working women in the past boldly pounded at these doctrines by their own actions and strove to free themselves from feudal oppression. But owing to the limitations of their times and class, they could not thoroughly expose and criticize the class content and reactionary essence of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Later, the bourgeoisie took part in the struggle against Confucianism in the May 4th Movement of 1919, but it also could not thoroughly criticize these doctrines. The task of doing this is entrusted by history to the proletariat armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Together with all the other working people of China, our working women are earnestly studying works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao, taking an active part in the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius, thoroughly criticizing the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, occupying with Marxism all of the superstructure, including philosophy, history, education, literature, art and law, and carrying the class struggle in the realm of ideology through to the end.

Medicine and Health (III)

Uniting Doctors of Traditional Chinese Medicine and Western Medicine

by Dr. Wu Chieh-ping

This is the third article in a series on China's medicine and health. The first two, "For Workers, Peasants and Soldiers" and "Put Prevention First," appeared in issues No. 8 and 9. — Ed.

BOTH traditional Chinese medicine and Western medicine have their special features and each has its own system. To create a new medicine and new pharmacology by combining the two is the orientation pointed out by Chairman Mao for the development of Chinese medicine. Under the care and solicitude of the Party and the People's Government, doctors of traditional Chinese and of Western medicine have united and co-operated for the realization of this goal.

Traditional Chinese medicine and pharmacology date back thousands of years. Written in c. 4th or 5th century B.C., the *Huang Ti Nei Ching* (The Yellow Emperor's Manual of Internal Medicine) was the earliest medical treatise in China. This voluminous work systematically recorded the rich experience gained in medical treatment, including acupuncture. At about the time of the 2nd century A.D., the well-known

doctor Hua To first used herbal anaesthesia by mixing herbal powder with wine in performing abdominal operations. During the Ming Dynasty in the 16th century, the pharmacologist and doctor Li Shih-chen delved into more than 800 volumes of medical literature and other related material, gathered medical information from the people, made investigations and did research. His 30 years' efforts culminated in his work *Compendium of Materia Medica* running to 52 volumes. It listed 1,892 kinds of medicinal herbs and had over 1,000 illustrations and legends. He gave details concerning the special features and shape of every medicinal herb, where it was grown and ways of collecting and concoction as well as principles of giving prescription. The efficacy of medicinal herbs listed has been proved by clinical results.

Chinese medicine and pharmacology are a great treasure-house of experience gained by the Chinese people in their battle against diseases over the centuries. Both have played an important role in ensuring people's health and national prosperity. Before



Doctors in east China's Hsueh city studying Chinese medical literature. By combining traditional Chinese with Western medicine, they successfully used herbal anaesthesia in surgery.

liberation, the reactionary rulers and bourgeois medical authorities alleged that traditional Chinese medicine and pharmacology were "unscientific" and obstructed the development of modern medicine in China, and they did everything they could to ban them from the city hospitals. Traditional medicine, however, always had a good reputation among the people and was liked by them. This was because such medicine could be easily obtained in the various localities, and it was effective and could often fill in the deficiencies of Western medicine and pharmacology. Doctors of traditional Chinese medicine used thousands of kinds of herbs and medicines as well as acupuncture, massage and other treatment in the countryside and sometimes in the cities, and did a good job of protecting people's health.

Consistent Policy

As early as the First Revolutionary Civil War period in the late 1920s, Chairman Mao advocated treating the sick and wounded by both traditional and Western medicine. Doctors of Chinese medicine and of Western medicine worked hand in hand among the Communist Party-led revolutionary troops and in the revolutionary base areas (Liberated Areas) at that time and in the ensuing years of the War of Resistance Against Japan and the War of Liberation, contributing their efforts to the revolutionary wars.

"Uniting doctors of traditional Chinese medicine and of Western medicine" was defined as one of the policies of health work soon after the founding of the People's Republic of China. Chairman Mao wrote the following in 1950: "Unite all medical and health workers, new and old, of the traditional school and the Western school, and form a solid united front to strive for the development of the great cause of people's health." In 1958 he said: "Chinese medicine and pharmacology are a great treasure-house, and efforts should be made to explore them and raise them to a higher level." While waging struggles against Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line for more than 10 years, Chairman Mao severely criticized any discriminations against or disdain of traditional Chinese medicine and pharmacology. He pointed out that doctors of Western medicine should study traditional medicine and that it was necessary to set up institutions for the research of Chinese medicine and pharmacology, and that traditional medicine doctors should work in hospitals.

Chairman Mao's instructions clearly defined the orientation for the development of Chinese medicine. Developed under different historical conditions, each of the two medicines has its merits and defects. Neither can be supplanted by the other. Our medical and health workers' task is to use modern scientific knowledge and methods to make a careful study of Chinese medicine, absorb its essence and discard its dross and continuously sum it up and raise it to a higher level through practice. Traditional Chinese medicine in this way will fill in the deficiencies of Western medicine and make use of the latter's merits. A new medicine and pharmacology which will better protect the health of the masses of working people will eventually be formed.

Close Co-operation

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, doctors of traditional and of Western medicine have united and co-operated in different ways. In the initial stage, both consulted on a case, or the latter did the diagnosis and the patient was given traditional medicine. In both instances, traditional and Western medicine doctors follow the case together. Afterwards, doctors of traditional and Western medicine diagnose and treat patients together on certain diseases. Co-operation between the two thus becomes closer.

In 1955, Peking's Traditional Chinese Medical Research Institute offered the first training course in which Western medicine doctors from various parts of China learnt traditional medicine from experienced Chinese medicine doctors for two and a half years. Later, the former used modern scientific knowledge to research and apply the heritage of traditional medicine. Similar training courses were given in other parts of China and Western medicine doctors were organized to study traditional medicine in their clinical practice.

There has been a great increase in the number of institutions and staff members devoted to traditional

medicine and pharmacology. Most provinces and municipalities have their own research institutes. Colleges of traditional medicine were set up in many provinces and municipalities, and in most hospitals there are departments of traditional medicine. Peking's Traditional Chinese Medical Research Institute's staff has increased nearly 11-fold since the institute was established.

With the popularization of traditional Chinese medicine and pharmacology among doctors of Western medicine, there are now more and more doctors and teachers in hospitals and medical colleges and schools who are good at both. Traditional medicine doctors and pharmacists, for their part, are also diligently studying Western medicine; mastering both techniques step by step, they are preparing conditions for the gradual formation of a new medicine.

Initial Success

The effects of the integration of traditional and Western medicine have become increasingly remarkable thanks to the joint efforts of doctors of both medicines. New ways of treatment have been found for some frequently met or common diseases, ways which differ from original traditional medicine or Western medicine and which combine the merits of both. Readily accepted by the working people, they have solved problems which previously could not be solved singly by traditional or Western medicine.

In treating bone fractures, integration of traditional and Western medicine is far more efficient than the usual Western or traditional Chinese methods. After handling over 10,000 cases of limb fractures, doctors in a Tientsin hospital have combined the merits of both medicines to develop a new method which leads to the earlier joining of fractures, better restoration of the functions of the injured limbs and less pain. The fractured parts were first carefully examined by X-ray. Apart from a number of patients who had to be operated on or have the fractured parts in plaster casts, the majority were treated by the traditional method of manipulating the fractured part into alignment, again X-rayed and then fixed by small splints. Compared with the usual Western method, this way of partial fixation coupled with adequate exercises shortens the time needed for the healing of fractures by one-third or half. In acute abdomen, such as acute appendicitis, acute perforation of peptic ulcers, acute intestinal obstruction, gall stones and ectopic pregnancy, operative treatments are usually carried out in Western medicine. However, more and more cases like these can be treated without surgery with a higher recovery rate by using mainly traditional medicine and acupuncture plus anti-biotics when necessary. In a hospital in Kweichow Province, 178 out of 187 cases of acute perforation of duodenal ulcers recovered without operation. Satisfactory results have been obtained since 1958 in 570 cases of pregnancy outside the uterus without surgery in a hospital in Shansi Province.

Acupuncture treatment is traditional in China, and acupuncture anaesthesia, a notable success of combining traditional and Western medicine, has been successfully applied in certain surgical operations since 1958, following a long period of research and clinical application. Acupuncture anaesthesia, now extensively used, has proved safe and effective in head, chest, abdominal and limb operations. But it must be said that it is still in the development stage, and its shortcomings—such as inadequate anaesthetic effect and insufficient muscular relaxation in certain cases—remain to be overcome.

Another new achievement in combining traditional and Western medicine is the successful use of herbal medicine with ingredients of the datura flower as the main drug as a general anaesthetic. Around 40,000 patients ranging in age from one to over 80 were operated under such anaesthesia in the past four years.

These are some examples of the fruitful result of integrating traditional Chinese medicine with Western medicine. Scientific research on China's medical heritage is still in the initial stage. Arduous work over a long period is needed to achieve a genuine integration of traditional with Western medicine and create a new medicine and pharmacology combining the merits of both.



Collecting medicinal herbs.

by Cheng Shu-fang

Second National Congress in Liberated Zone

- The Congress adopted a statement on certain important problems in the current situation. It reaffirms the political line for internal and external affairs and calls on the people to intensify the fight and attack the enemy without let-up so as to completely liberate the country.

A PRESS communique of the Second National Congress of Cambodia held in the Cambodian Liberated Zone was released by the Kampuchea Information Agency on February 26. The communique was signed by Deputy Prime Minister Khieu Samphan. Excerpts from the communique follow:

The Second National Congress was held in the Cambodian Liberated Zone from February 24 to 25, 1975 and presided over by Khieu Samphan, Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of National Defence of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia (R.G.N.U.C.), and Commander-in-Chief of the People's Armed Forces of National Liberation of Cambodia (P.A.F.N.L.C.). Attending the Congress were all the ministers and vice-ministers of the R.G.N.U.C., and 273 representatives of the National United Front of Cambodia (N.U.F.C.) at various levels from all regions and army units and of various mass organizations, the Cambodian Democratic Women's Association, the Association of Cambodian Democratic Youth, the Association of Patriotic Peasants, the Cambodian Trade Union, the Association of Patriotic Monks, the Association of Cambodian Patriotic Intellectuals, the Association of Patriotic Writers and Poets of Cambodia, and of the three forces (regular units, regional units and guerrillas) of the P.A.F.N.L.C.

The Second National Congress was held in the circumstances where the military, political and economic situation is developing in the direction in favour of the national and people's liberation struggle of the Cambodian people. We are, in fact, in a period of a powerful, all-round offensive, with the enemy collapsing in all spheres. Phnom Penh is completely encircled and the enemy is putting up a death-bed struggle in the military, political, economic, financial spheres and in grain and munitions.

After careful discussion, the Congress adopted a statement on certain important problems in the current situation.

1. With regard to the seven traitors, the National Congress has decided that Lon Nol, Sirik Matak, Son

Ngoc Thanh, Cheng Heng, In Tam, Long Boret and Sos-thene Fernandez are the chieftains of the traitors, instigators of the coup d'etat which put an end to the independence, peace and neutrality of Cambodia. They have brought about the U.S. imperialist aggression which put Cambodia to fire and sword, causing innumerable deaths to monks, men, women and children indiscriminately. In the name of the N.U.F.C., the R.G.N.U.C. and the P.A.F.N.L.C., the National Congress declares that the existence of the fascist, rotten traitors must be put to an end at any cost because they have committed monstrous crimes unprecedented in the history of Cambodia.

With regard to functionaries, officers and soldiers, police officers and agents, self-defence guards, members of various armed organizations, politicians and other personalities, as well as members of various organs of the puppet regime, the National Congress declares that the N.U.F.C., the Cambodian nation and people are ready to welcome them when they cease serving the seven traitors and all their collaboration with them, and will welcome and award the compatriots living in areas under temporary enemy control who turn their guns on the enemy.

The National Congress calls on the officers and soldiers, police officers and agents, self-defence guards, functionaries, politicians and other personalities to abandon in time the seven traitors who are in their death throes, and unite with the people in Phnom Penh and other areas under temporary enemy control to wage struggle against the traitors and contribute to the liberation of the nation and the people.

2. With regard to the U.S. imperialists, they have interfered in the internal affairs of Cambodia, launched overt aggression in Cambodia, pursued the policy of "Khmerization" of the war in Cambodia and created innumerable sorrow, ruins and sufferings. Under the leadership of the N.U.F.C. and the R.G.N.U.C., the nation and people of Cambodia have waged struggle to make the U.S. imperialists stop all their direct and indirect intervention and aggression against Cambodia

and withdraw all their military advisers, "pacification" advisers and aid organs from Cambodia. In this struggle, the nation and people of Cambodia, the N.U.F.C. and the R.G.N.U.C. do not cherish any aggressive aim against the United States of America, the American nation and people or against any state and people, far and near. We struggle only for the liberty, independence and honour of our nation.

3. The National Congress reaffirms the political line for the internal and external affairs of the country as follows:

Internally, the N.U.F.C. and the R.G.N.U.C., in the name of the nation and people of Cambodia, controls the destiny of the country and upholds the great unity of the entire nation and people irrespective of social classes, political tendencies, religious belief and regardless of their past, except the seven traitors Lon Nol, Sirik Matak, Son Ngoc Thanh, Cheng Heng, In Tam, Long Boret and Sosthene Fernandez. The N.U.F.C. and the R.G.N.U.C. will build a prosperous Cambodia in which the people will have enough to eat and wear, have their own homes and enjoy medical and educational facilities.

Externally, the N.U.F.C. and the R.G.N.U.C., following the policy of neutrality and non-alignment, cannot tolerate any military base of aggression on their soil and firmly adhere to the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, establishing relations with all countries, far or near, irrespective of their political and social system, provided that they respect the principles of equality, mutual respect, reciprocal interests, non-aggression and non-interference in others' internal affairs. The Cambodian nation and people will accept all kinds of aid so long as it is unconditional.

4. The National Congress calls on the people of Phnom Penh and provincial capitals under temporary enemy control, monks and laymen, workers and working people of all categories and middle school and college students, teachers and professors to rise in unity and struggle in all forms to overthrow the traitors. The National Congress calls on them to fight in unity and strike at the enemy from within; to use all forms of struggle such as meetings, demonstrations and strikes against recruitment; to protest against hunger and attack the rice and food stores of the traitors; to rise to seize arms from the enemy, turn their guns on the enemy, destroy the administrative offices, broadcasting stations, military police posts, barracks and command posts of the traitors; to destroy the offices of different political and economic institutions and the strategic positions of the enemy. If necessary, our monks and compatriots can come to the Liberated Zone. The N.U.F.C., the R.G.N.U.C. and the N.U.F.C. organizations at all levels will accord them the warmest welcome and sincerely give them moral and material aid and support in their new life in the Liberated Zone.

5. In the situation where the doomed regime of the Phnom Penh traitors is going to collapse, particularly in the situation where the riel of the traitors no longer has any value at home or abroad, the National Congress declares that the riel of the Phnom Penh traitors will no longer be in circulation as from today and the new riel of the N.U.F.C. and the R.G.N.U.C. will soon be put into circulation.

At present, no obstacle in the liberated areas can prevent our victorious progress in economy, finance and the war for national liberation or disturb the people's life, because we have applied an economic and financial policy based on barter which gradually frees us from the enemy riel. In 1973, the riel accounted only for 15 per cent of the exchanges in the Liberated Zone. The proportion dropped to 5 per cent in 1974 and 0.5 per cent in January 1975. We have completely abolished its use since mid-February. In the future, we will continue using barter as we have done till now. We will gradually put the riel of the N.U.F.C. and the R.G.N.U.C. into circulation. Thus, new possibilities will come for developing our economy and finance serving our people and our war for national liberation.

6. The National Congress once again calls on all foreign embassies and organizations accredited to the regime of the traitors to withdraw without delay their personnel and families from Phnom Penh and other regions under temporary enemy control so as to avoid accidents which may eventually occur. The N.U.F.C. and the R.G.N.U.C. will not bear any responsibility for such accidents.

7. In the name of the Cambodian nation and people, in the name of the N.U.F.C. with Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk as Chairman, in the name of the R.G.N.U.C. with Samdech Penn Nouth as Prime Minister and in the name of the P.A.F.N.L.C., the National Congress expresses its deep thanks to friendly peoples and countries near and afar in the world and to the American people, the American youth and the American personages cherishing peace and justice for the aid and support given the Cambodian nation and people in their just struggle for national and popular liberation. The National Congress expects their continued aid and support, particularly for foiling all manoeuvres and acts of intervention and aggression in Cambodia by the Ford-Kissinger administration, so as to enable the Cambodian nation and people to solve their own internal affairs without foreign interference.

8. The National Congress calls on the entire Cambodian people and the three categories of the P.A.F.N.L.C. at the front and in the rear to intensify their combativity and attack the enemy without let-up so as to accomplish our task of total and definitive liberation of the nation and people.

Freedom-Fighters Persevere in Armed Struggle

INSPIRED by the excellent situation of fighting in unity in Africa and meeting counter-revolutionary violence with revolutionary violence, the Zimbabwean people have persevered in armed struggle and dealt the enemy one heavy blow after another.

Started by the Zimbabwean freedom-fighters in 1966, the raging armed struggle has driven the Smith racist regime into a corner. As a result, Smith colluded with South African racist regime chieftain Vorster by asking him to send several thousand South African armed police to Rhodesia to help suppress the Zimbabwean people. Since last year, both the Smith and Vorster regimes have greatly increased their military spending, expanded armaments and incessantly intensified their suppression campaigns against the Zimbabwean guerrillas. They have forcibly moved Zimbabweans into concentration camps in an effort to cut the freedom-fighters off from the masses. These reactionary measures, however, failed to cow the freedom-fighters who have emerged ever stronger in arduous struggle and steadily extended their areas of operation with growing support from the masses.

In the face of this situation, the imperialists and racists are using stick-and-carrot counter-revolutionary dual tactics to maintain their colonial interests in this part of Africa.

On one hand there has been no let-up in the armed suppression of the Zimbabwean people, freedom has not been restored to the great number of long imprisoned and persecuted nationalists and the South African police continue to remain in Rhodesia; on the other hand, the Smith regime attempts to lure the freedom-fighters into laying down their arms. Through Vorster, it has since last year diffused the smokescreen of "reconciliation" and "co-operation" and spread the word that it is ready to negotiate with the nationalist parties for a "peaceful" settlement of the Rhodesian issue.

The Zimbabwean people who have been fighting for liberation do not refuse all negotiations. But they stress the necessity for a change in the preposterous situation in which the whites, accounting for less than 5 per cent of the population, dominate the Africans

who make up the other 95 per cent. They insist on immediate African majority rule. This was categorically rejected by the racist chieftain. Smith openly clamoured on December 15 that there would be no black rule while he is alive. And on January 15, he said there never has been nor is there any policy in Rhodesia of turning the country over to a black majority government. This clearly shows that all the talk about "negotiation" and "reconciliation" by Smith and his like is nothing but deceit.

The racist regime's brutal suppression and cunning tactics have served as a lesson by negative example for the Zimbabwean people. They have maintained vigilance and persisted in armed struggle and other forms of struggle. Not long ago, the heroic freedom-fighters launched repeated attacks against the enemy in Rushinga and other areas in northeastern Rhodesia, killing a number of armed South African police. To strengthen their united struggle, Zimbabwe's four liberation organizations reached agreement on unity last December. In their declaration on unity, they explicitly pointed out "the inevitability of continued armed struggle and all other forms of struggle until the total liberation of Zimbabwe."

The Zimbabwean people's struggle for national independence has won the firm support of the African peoples and all justice-upholding countries and people throughout the rest of the world. The declaration adopted at the 24th Session of the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity in January pointed out that free Africa must redouble its efforts to eliminate the scourge of colonialism and racism from the African continent. The meeting also decided to give top priority to aiding the liberation movements of Zimbabwe and Namibia. A number of African state leaders in their 1975 New Year messages or speeches all expressed resolute support for the Zimbabwean people's just struggle for national liberation.

There is no doubt that so long as the Zimbabwean people strengthen unity, maintain vigilance and persist in a tit-for-tat struggle against imperialism and racism they will surely achieve national liberation.

The Breakdown of Soviet-U.S. Trade Agreement

BOTH the United States and the Soviet Union declared in January that the trade agreement between the two countries could not be put into effect.

Moscow and Washington put on a big show to create an atmosphere of Soviet-U.S. "detente" when the agreement was signed more than two years ago. The Soviet ruling clique described it as "a fruitful contribution to the cause of strengthening relations between the two countries." One U.S. leader called the signature date "a very historic day for both countries." This much-vaunted agreement has now become a scrap of paper. The question is: What are the basic causes of the change and what does it mean?

The trade and economic ties between the Soviet Union and the United States are an important part of their relations and one of the main subjects of the frequent talks they have held in recent years. On this question both sides are looking to their own needs and locked in fierce struggle.

The Soviet Union is eager to carry out "large-scale and long-term economic co-operation" with the United States and thus to make political capital for its tactics of "detente." Meanwhile, under the signboard of "detente" and "co-operation," it seeks from the United States most-favoured-nation status, huge loans and techniques to solve its acute economic difficulties and to strengthen its economic and military thrust against the United States in the scramble for hegemony.

The United States, on its part, wants to expand its markets and obtain raw materials and energy resources from the Soviet Union to alleviate its own economic crisis. More important, the United States regards granting credits, techniques and most-favoured-nation status as a trump card in its struggle with the Soviet Union, in its efforts to open that country to infiltration and exert pressure to get concessions in the contention for world hegemony. U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger openly declared that granting credits is an "important and maybe fundamental leverage" in bargaining with the Soviet Union and, in a crisis, an "economic card" as important as "diplomatic or military pressures."

It is clear that the Soviet-U.S. trade agreement of October 1972 was a product of the two sides' desire to step up their rivalry in pursuing their own interests. The fact that it could not be made operative in the two years after being signed reflects the intensification of the world-wide contention between the two superpowers,

During the two years that followed the signing, the nuclear race between the Soviet Union and the United States continued to accelerate, the fourth Middle East war and the Cyprus incident broke out, and contention between the two hegemonic powers sharpened in Europe, the Middle East, the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean. As a result, more and more people in the United States demanded a tougher attitude towards the Kremlin. Since the beginning of 1973, it has officially made the question of relaxing restrictions on emigration of Soviet Jews a condition for putting the Soviet-U.S. trade agreement into operation. An amendment with majority support in the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives demanded that the U.S. Government make no trade concessions to the Soviet Union until Moscow allowed Soviet Jews to "freely emigrate" to Israel. In September that year, the House Ways and Means Committee adopted a resolution refusing to grant the Soviet Union most-favoured-nation status until Soviet emigration policy was relaxed. At the time *The Washington Star-News* pointed out that this was in line with the U.S. tactics of weakening the Soviet Union at the European conference for security at which it demanded that Moscow implement a "free exchange of ideas and personnel." It was a "component part" of the pressure on the Soviet leadership by the West, the paper noted.

In begging for U.S. credits and preferential trade terms, the Soviet leaders made a "written guarantee" in a behind-the-scenes deal that they agreed to ease the restrictions on emigration of Soviet Jews. However, after the Middle East war broke out, the White House decided to delay discussion on most-favoured-nation status for the Soviet Union. The Soviet press inveighed against U.S. "attempts to gain some politically discreditable purpose by means of trade" and accused Washington of engaging "in ideological infiltration into the Soviet Union" and opposing the solution of the Middle East issue.

Contention between the two superpowers became sharper in 1974. There was louder voice in Washington against granting credits to the Soviet military-industrial complex and for "hard bargaining" with the Soviet Union. The United States imposed one restriction after another on the Soviet Union in the field of trade and credits that year. Last March the U.S. Export-Import Bank decided against granting credits for exploitation of Siberian resources. In June, the Congress prohibited

(Continued on p. 29.)

ROUND THE WORLD

ALGIERS

Ministerial Conference of "77-Nation Group"

The ministerial conference of the "77-nation group" of the developing countries, held from February 15 to 18 in Algiers, adopted a declaration which sets the basic principles for the developing countries' strategy in industrialization. These principles affirm that industrialization is "a dynamic instrument of growth essential to the rapid economic and social development of the developing countries."

The declaration stressed that measures should be taken to promote industrial development in order to modernize the economies of the developing countries and to "eliminate all forms of political domination and socio-economic exploitation."

Referring to the urgent need for radical transformations in the structure of international economic relations, it pointed out that the practices of alien and colonial domination, foreign occupation, all forms of foreign aggression, racial discrimination, apartheid, imperialism and neo-colonialism in all its forms continue to be among the obstacles to the full emancipation and progress of the developing countries. It condemned the attitude of some developed countries and the unacceptable practices of the trans-national corporations that infringe on the principle of the sovereignty of developing countries.

The declaration pointed out that the developing countries, which constitute 70 per cent of the world population, "generate less than 7 per cent of industrial production and that the gap between the developed and developing countries has been widening owing, *inter alia*, to the persistence of an unjust and inequitable international economic order."

It said that the conference recommended that the share of the

developing countries in world industrial production should be increased to at least 25 per cent of the total by the year 2000. To ensure this, the developing countries should increase their annual rate of industrial growth to no less than 8 per cent.

The conference proposed that in order to accelerate industrialization, the developing countries should adopt "all measures which would ensure their control over their natural resources and the exploitation of these natural resources."

The declaration reiterated that "every state has the inalienable right to exercise freely its sovereignty and permanent control over its natural resources, both terrestrial and marine, and overall economic activity."

It stressed the unity of the developing countries as an indispensable condition for economic and social progress and provided that "developing countries with sufficient means at their disposal should give careful consideration to the possibility of ensuring a net transfer of financial and technical resources to the least developed countries."

It proposed that "every attempt should be made to promote agro-based or agro-related industries" and these industries should provide an incentive for the establishment of local natural resource-based enterprises.

The Plan of Action adopted at the conference has formed for the developing countries "long-term and clearly defined industrialization plans and strategies which rest in the first place on national effort."

It stressed the establishment of basic, integral and manufacturing industries and called for appropriate measures to encourage the export of manufactured and semi-manufactured products.

The plan also called for necessary measures to prevent trans-national

corporations from engaging in activities which developing countries regard as harmful to their development.

All documents adopted at the conference will be submitted as the common stand of the group to the second session of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization which meets in March in Lima, capital of Peru.

SOUTH ASIAN SUBCONTINENT

Grechko's India Trip

Soviet Defence Minister Andrei Grechko at the head of a high-ranking military delegation made up of chieftains of the Soviet army, navy and air force visited India from February 24 to 27. This was a new step by Soviet social-imperialism to intensify contention with U.S. imperialism for hegemony in the South Asian subcontinent and the Indian Ocean.

Peering through the smokescreen of "relaxation," "peace" and "stability," as the Soviet and Indian Defence Ministers portrayed it in their joint communique, one can see the dark clouds of the arms race hanging over the subcontinent. The joint communique said that they "have expressed their grave anxiety at the actions taken by certain quarters to step up arms race." It is self-evident that this referred to the actions by the U.S. Government in this area, first of all, its announcement on February 24 about the decision to lift the 10-year-old U.S. arms embargo to India and Pakistan. *Izvestia* said on February 26 that the U.S. move was intended to strengthen its military presence in South Asia and the Indian Ocean. Clearly, the Soviet paper was trying to find a pretext to cover up the Soviet arms race at a higher level in this area, sell more arms and carry out military expansion there.

Everybody knows that in the last 10 years, the Soviet revisionists have made strenuous efforts to help India expand its armaments. They have supplied India with over 2,000 million

dollars worth of arms in the past seven years alone in addition to assistance in building a Mig-making plant and other war industry items for India. Grechko's recent trip was designed to serve the purpose of equipping the Indian army with up-to-date weapons and using more advanced equipment to strengthen India's arms production capacity. As the Indian side said, it was "for closer collaboration between the two countries on India's defence and defence production requirements." (PTI)

The Indian paper *Patriot* reported that "about a dozen senior Soviet technical personnel who had arrived earlier have drawn up the broad outlines of a draft agreement on collaboration in defence production, details of which are to be filled in by Grechko and the chiefs of the Soviet air force and navy who are accompanying him." The paper added that the Indian air force had long felt the need for a deep penetration fighter bomber to replace its outdated bombers and that "for the navy the requirement is to develop the two naval commands in the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea and the southern naval area into effective 'sea-control forces.'" However, no one is so naive as to believe that the "air control" and "sea control" capability belongs to India only, without direct connection with the Soviet desire in this regard. U.S. State Department spokesman Robert Anderson said that the U.S. Government had taken into consideration the Soviet Union's massive supply of arms to India in making its decision to end its arms embargo to the subcontinent.

The Soviet revisionists have extended military aid to India and equipped its munitions industry on a big scale for the purpose of contending for hegemony with the United States in South Asia and the Indian Ocean region. It was disclosed that Grechko and Indian leaders had discussed, in addition to co-operation in the military field, the situation arising from the U.S. establishment of military bases in the Indian Ocean.

In recent years, the Soviet revisionists have greatly boosted their naval

strength in the Indian Ocean, with more than 30 ships cruising there most of the time. The United States considers South Asia and the Indian Ocean an important flank of the oil-rich Middle East and the Persian Gulf and the only route for the transport of all important oil. In mid-January, it was reported that the United States had demanded the use of the British military base on Masira Island near the entrance to the Persian Gulf. Meanwhile, the Japanese paper *Nihon Keizai Shimbun* revealed that the Soviet Union was also seeking new ports for its warships in the Indian Ocean.

With rivalry between the two superpowers in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf intensified, the Indian Ocean is becoming more turbulent.

SOVIET REVISIONISM

"Disarmament" Fraud Betrayed by Its Architects

Top Moscow military chieftains on the occasion of Soviet Army and Navy Day (February 23) feverishly advocated arms expansion and war preparations, clamouring that "there must be combat readiness at all times." This again shows that the Soviet social-imperialists are stepping up their war preparations while trying to deceive world public opinion and benumb their opponents by waving the olive branch of "détente" and "disarmament."

Soviet Minister of Defence Grechko said in an order issued that day: "Military budgets are being raised in some imperialist states, military preparations are being carried on, and tensions are maintained in some areas of the globe. All this requires maintaining at the proper level the defence capacity of our state and the combat power of the armed forces."

In an article in *Krasnaya Zvezda* the same day, First Vice-Minister of Defence Yakubovsky declared that the Soviet opponents' "continued strengthening of their material preparations for a world war" "has not only failed to slow down the arms race but continued to accelerate it." He bellowed: "Efforts should not be

slackened in strengthening our national defence." Writing in the Soviet paper *Selskaya Zhizny*, Vice-Minister of Defence Pavlovski also clamoured for "combat readiness at all times."

Playing up Soviet military strength in an article carried by *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, First Vice-Minister of Defence Kulikov boasted that the Soviet strategic rocket army had achieved all-round development, the army had greatly raised its fighting capabilities, radical changes had taken place in the air force and the navy had made remarkable progress, and so on and so forth.

NORTH EUROPE

Soviet Revisionist Attacks Refuted

Recent Soviet press attacks on Sweden and Norway have been justly refuted by the authorities as well as press of both countries.

Referring to the Soviet military threat against North Europe in a military report not long ago, Supreme Commander of the Swedish Armed Forces Stig Synnergren said: "The capacity of swift and massive transport of troops in the Arctic circle and Baltic areas by the Warsaw Pact Organization is growing steadily. Such a development shows that the aggressors' means of swift invasion of Sweden from several directions simultaneously has been beefed up."

He pointed out: "In time of war the Soviet Union can throw into operations 12 to 14 divisions in northern Norway and Sweden within 10 days and nights, but the NATO can throw into operations only less than three divisions in the meantime. The railroad transportation capacity in Murmansk, the Soviet Union, can be doubled within a short time."

"The Warsaw Pact," he continued, "has greatly increased its transportation capacity in the Baltic Sea. It can transport 10 divisions and over three air-borne divisions to southern Sweden within 10 days and nights."

He noted: "The strategic importance of the Arctic circle area keeps on increasing as a result of the dis-

covery of oil along the coasts of northern Norway and the growing expansion of the Soviet base-complex on the Kola Peninsula."

"The policy of defence is one of the most important ways to cope with threats," Synnergren stressed.

Following Synnergren's report, Norwegian Defence Minister Alv Fostervoll also spoke of the concentration of Soviet military forces on the Kola Peninsula in an interview with the military correspondent of the Swedish paper *Svenska Dagbladet* on the defence of North Europe. Fostervoll observed: "The base which is very close to us is perhaps the biggest base-complex in the world." He said that although it concerns Soviet global strategy, it means a threat to Norway as well.

Moscow was obviously touched to the quick by Synnergren's report and the discussions in North European newspapers about the protection of oil installations in the North Sea. Hence the unwarranted Soviet press attacks.

Facing up to Moscow's hysteria, Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme told the press that "we'll hold fast to our stand. We never can avoid differ-

ences of viewpoint with the Soviet Union on various questions. We cannot adjust our policies to the views of a superpower."

The Norwegian paper *Dagbladet* said on February 20 that if "that country can set up one of the world's largest arsenals near the borders of the North European countries, other countries must also be allowed to occupy themselves with the military consequences of the outbreak of war."

Another Norwegian paper *Morgenbladet* noted on February 20 that Moscow is reckoning without its host. The people of the North European countries are not to be bullied, it warned.

FRENCH PAPER

The Mediterranean Belongs To the Mediterranean Peoples

Establishment of a united front of the peoples in the Mediterranean region against their principal enemies, the two superpowers, was urged by *The Mediterranean to the Peoples of the Mediterranean*, a

newspaper published in Marseilles recently.

The paper said: "The liberty and independence of the peoples of the Mediterranean have never been so seriously threatened by the two most terrible enemies ever known in history—the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union—as they are today."

It emphasized: The rivalry between the two superpowers for world hegemony involves the risk of touching off a general conflict. Both are not Mediterranean states. However, they have sent their warships to invade the Mediterranean and interfered in the internal affairs of the peoples and countries in this region.

"The peoples of the Mediterranean," said the paper, "will certainly not submit to the two superpowers, just as they have not submitted to other aggressors in the past. Mass organizations, journals and personalities of various countries have raised these demands: 'The Mediterranean to the Mediterranean peoples' and 'The fleets of the two superpowers get out of the Mediterranean.'"

(Continued from p. 26.)

the export to the Soviet Union of any technological equipment that might enhance its military capability. In August, it put limits on the type of technological equipment and data that the administration could provide to the Soviet Union. The Senate and House of Representatives adopted amendments respectively last July and September which prohibit loans, guarantees, insurance or credits to the Soviet Union by the Export-Import Bank when the Congress was discussing a trade act. In December, the Congress passed a bill related to the Export-Import Bank and a trade act. The bill limited the bank's credits to the Soviet Union to 300 million dollars over four years. The trade act authorized the U.S. President to grant the Soviet Union most-favoured-nation status only on condition that the Soviet Government ensure "freer emigration" of Soviet Jews, the status being revocable by Congress at the end of 18 months if the Soviet Union does not carry out its commitment.

The Brezhnev clique's compromises with the United States on the harsh conditions had been made in expectation of obtaining "long-term and large-scale loans" from the other side of the ocean. However, the credits which the U.S. Congress offered were so scant that they far from counterbalanced World War II lend-lease act

debts the Soviet Union had promised to repay the United States when the trade agreement was signed. Furthermore, the public revelation of the Soviet revisionists' secret dirty deal on the Jewish issue and the fixing of it in law had placed the Kremlin bosses in awkward straits. It was against this background that the Soviet revisionist clique hurled abuse at Washington for "interfering in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union" and rejected the Soviet-U.S. trade agreement.

It is clear as crystal that the breakdown of the Soviet-U.S. trade agreement which had been lauded to the skies is no accident; it was the inevitable result of the intensified Soviet-U.S. contention for hegemony. The Soviet revisionist leading clique's so-called opposition to "interference in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union" was aimed at hoodwinking public opinion for the sake of saving face.

From the conclusion of the Soviet-U.S. trade agreement to its being turned into a scrap of paper, the whole process shows most clearly the collaboration and contention between the two superpowers, with contention as the main factor. They can achieve temporary deals or compromise on some issues but only for the sake of still more intense contention.

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent)

ON THE HOME FRONT

Rural Grass-Roots Cadres

ACROSS China's vast countryside tens of millions of grass-roots cadres are leading the peasants, who make up over 80 per cent of the nation's population, in taking the socialist road via collective farming, and developing agricultural production at a comparatively fast tempo.

Take for example the plain north of the Huai River in east China, which has been converted from an area known for its frequent natural disasters into one of the country's new bases for the production of marketable grain. There are some 400,000 cadres in the local organs of political power at the three basic levels — people's commune, production brigade and production team. They lead a population of over 10 million in tilling 2 million-odd hectares of arable land.

Two-thirds of these cadres are old or middle-aged ones — representatives of outstanding peasants tempered in the land reform and agricultural collectivization movements. Some of them are veterans of the War of Liberation who saw action or helped with logistics work during the Huai-Hai campaign of 1948. This campaign was personally directed by Chairman Mao, which ended with the annihilation of 550,000 Kuomintang troops in this area.

The remaining third are young people who came to the fore during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution — middle school graduates who returned to their home villages or settled down in the countryside or demobilized People's Liberation Army soldiers. Bursting with enthusiasm for socialism, dynamic in work, proficient in agricultural knowledge, they constitute a fresh force in the ranks of local cadres.

The socialist system has not only freed women in the countryside from household drudgery but also enabled them to enjoy equality with men in respect to political rights. They also have their representatives

in the organs of political power at various levels in rural areas.

How then are these cadres — representatives of rank-and-file peasants — directing socialist agriculture?

They do this by resolutely uniting the masses of the peasants to take the socialist road. From the setting up of mutual-aid teams and co-operatives to the establishment of people's communes, they have always followed Chairman Mao's directive of taking the road of collectivization, and waged struggles against the landlord and rich-peasant classes as well as against the sabotage and interference of the agricultural collectivization movement by Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line.

With the determination to pit their will against untoward natural conditions, these cadres have drawn up long-term plans for promoting socialist agriculture. Before liberation, agricultural production on the plain north of the Huai River was handicapped by frequent waterlogging. Since the founding of the people's communes the cadres have joined efforts with the commune members to overcome this by digging canals and ditches, building electro-powered irrigation and drainage stations, levelling land, improving soil and transforming methods of cultivation. Their herculean efforts have brought about a fundamental change in the perspectives of the area.

In so far as the local cadres' private income is concerned, only those at the commune level draw salaries from the state, while those at production brigade and team levels earn their living mainly by taking part in physical labour in the same way as ordinary commune members. When a brigade or team leader is called away to attend meetings or handle other public affairs, he is recompensed by the production brigade or team to which he belongs for his loss in work-points. All year round the cadres live among the masses, consult them and accept their supervision.

Just as in other parts of the Chinese countryside, the local cadres on this plain conscientiously study works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and of Chairman Mao, taking heed to applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to raise their level of consciousness and guide their work.

Recent years have seen a fair number of rural cadres promoted from grass-roots levels to various leading posts. Some have become secretaries of Party committees of counties, prefectures or provinces, or even Members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. One conspicuous instance is Comrade Chen Yung-kuei, former Party branch secretary of the Tachai Production Brigade, who is now concurrently Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-Premier of the State Council.

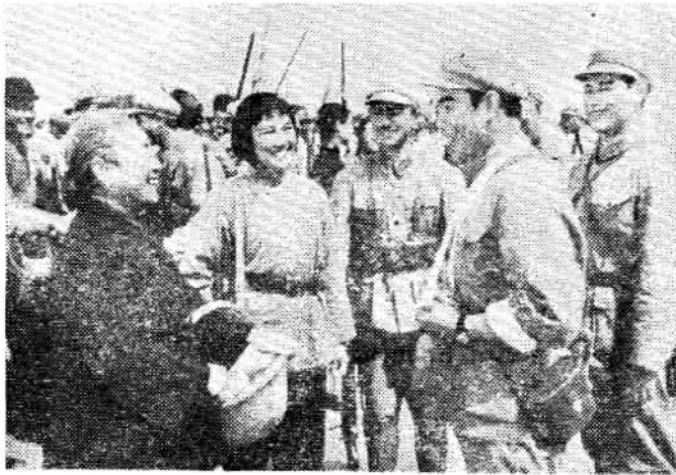
Excellent Military Feature Films

FROM *Victory to Victory*, and *Reconnaissance Across the Yangtze* now showing throughout China are among the excellent productions of recent years on military themes.

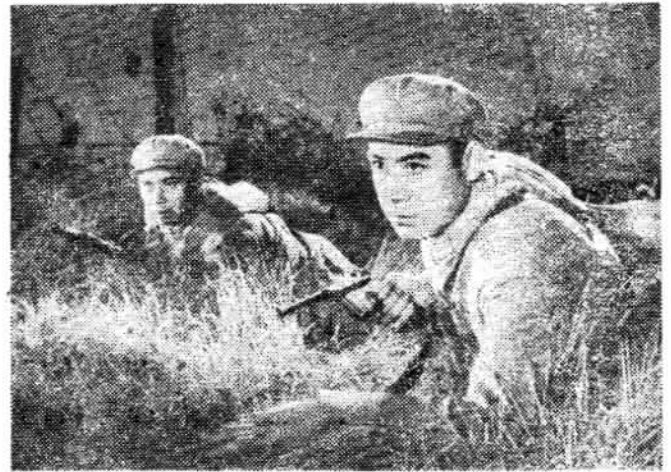
Both are in colour, revised from black-and-white films of the same titles shot 20 years ago. While retaining the original theme, basic story and characteristics, they constitute a clearer exposition of Chairman Mao's military thinking. Writers, actors and directors succeeded in high-lighting the class struggle and the two-line struggle more effectively by applying experience gained during the previous ten years of the proletarian revolution in art and literature.

Both stories are set against a background of the War of Liberation (1946-49). This decisive battle against the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries, in which 8 million enemy troops were wiped out and the reactionary regime overthrown, led to the founding of the People's Republic.

From Victory to Victory describes the situation six months after the beginning of the War of Liberation



The masses enthusiastically welcome fighters of People's Liberation Army (From *Victory to Victory*).



Soldiers break through enemy lines after crossing the Yangtze (Reconnaissance Across the Yangtze).

when the enemy's all-out attack against the Liberated Areas was defeated, and the enemy forces were compelled to strike at key points instead. In accordance with Chairman Mao's strategic concept: "Concentrate a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one," the people's army gave up some cities in the Liberated Areas. While deploying a small force to tie down the enemy, it concentrated superior forces to annihilate dispersed, isolated enemy troops.

From the point of view of the situation as a whole, although our army was inferior in numbers at that time, but in each specific campaign it ensured an absolute superiority over the enemy force. In this way one by one they vanquished the enemy who was on the whole several times stronger. Winning one victory after another, they rapidly reversed the overall relationship of forces between themselves and the enemy. It was only by carrying out the military thinking of Chairman Mao that the People's Liberation Army was able to score victories in every campaign, wiped out the bandit troops of Chiang Kai-shek, the traitor and enemy of the people, and emerged with superior forces on the whole.

Reconnaissance Across the Yangtze describes events in the spring of 1949, on the eve of the final annihilation of the Chiang Kai-shek bandit army. The Chinese People's Liberation Army sent a scouting detachment across the Yangtze into

the enemy rear to gather intelligence about the enemy in preparation for a forced crossing of the river. With the active support of the local guerrillas and people, it accomplished its task and contributed to the victory by a million P.L.A. troops in crossing this "natural barrier" and to the destruction of the 500-kilometre defence line along the Yangtze which the enemy had painstakingly built over a long period of time. Many vivid scenes eulogize the revolutionary heroism of the People's Liberation Army.

The two films are a forceful criticism of Lin Piao's bourgeois military line as well as of the revisionist fallacies which spread war terrorism and oppose any war, just or unjust, without distinction.

Grain Reserves

HUPEH Province's Huangkang Prefecture in the middle reaches of the Yangtze River achieved another rich harvest in 1974. The prefecture, made up of ten counties, has a population numbering six million. Most of its people's communes, production brigades and teams, and many households as well, have their own grain reserves, after paying the state agricultural tax, selling part of their surplus to the state and setting aside a sufficient amount for food, seed and fodder.

The amount of food grain per capita among the rural population of this prefecture's Huangkang County

averaged 287 kilogrammes in 1974. This is more than double the local peasants' average per capita annual consumption before liberation. The current collective and household reserves in the county are large enough to feed its total rural population for three months.

Before liberation in 1949, most of the grain harvested by poor-peasant Sun Yuan-sheng was taken away by the exploiting landlord; what remained was not enough to keep his family alive. Now, in addition to ample food grain for each member in his family of five, the household has a surplus of 150-200 kilogrammes each year.

Formerly the county was prone to drought and waterlogging. In the last ten years and more, relying on strength of the collective economy, people's communes in this county have built water conservancy projects to bring water to 95 per cent of its arable land, of which 85 per cent now produces good harvests irrespective of drought or waterlogging. The county's average per-hectare yield has surpassed 7.5 tons for three successive years since 1972. Its 1974 total grain output was 2.5 times that of 1950, the next year after liberation. These consecutive good harvests of grain have created conditions for increasing reserves—a measure of strategic importance for enhancing preparedness against war of aggression, guarding against natural disasters and accelerating our socialist construction.

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